HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Why Negroes Demonstrated in Pittsburgh

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

It is erroneously thought in some quarters that the bitter protest demonstrations of Pittsburgh Negro workers are aimed strictly at the construction industry. The very opposite is true. Black marchers are using the contractors, but as a weapon against the building trades unions—the most persistently Jim Crow aggregation in the nation.

The demonstrators know that the construction industry is tied to contracts with the unions and can hire only union labor. The unions, however, continue to keep Negroes out, or to admit such a small number that this "integration" is meaningless. Of course, on the national level, the same discriminatory unions issue pious statements against the South and beat their breasts for civil rights.

The facts tell the Pittsburgh story. Only 2 per cent of the city's trade union members are Negro, though an open membership policy would have increased the number many hundredfold. And as long as the unions exclude or limit blacks, the economic level of this minority is forcibly held down.

If the construction industry tries to hire Negroes outside the unions, it will be violating its contracts with the building trades. This would open the way to strikes, slowdowns and other labor trouble, and the contractors understandably want no part of it. If they do not hire Negroes, then they are charged with discrimination.

This applies not only to the building trades. Many other craft unions shut out Negroes in their apprenticeship programs and in the membership. It should be noted that the industry is not always blameless. But by and large, its attitude is simply that this is a labor matter and not its business.

Although demonstrating Negroes in Pittsburgh (above) have angered many white construction workers, many feel as does columnist de Toledano that the compulsory union membership proviso in the building trades perpetuate the blackballing of Negroes. Should the union shop be modified, says de Toledano, minority groups would have a fairer crack at skilled jobs.

For years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has protested against the labor movement's institutional discrimination toward blacks. Herbert Hill, the NAACP's specialist on labor problems, has written at great length and with tremendous documentation on this subject. His briefs have been submitted to congressional committees. But the National Labor Relations Board—so wedded to the AFL-CIO that when President George Meany itches, the entire board scratches—has done little or nothing, though its duties are under Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin.

Federal labor and civil rights statutes are very clear on this point. A union that discriminates is liable to punitive action and even decertification. But the instrumentality for starting the ball rolling is the NLRB, which has shown not the slightest interest. The construction industry could, of course, file a complaint with the NLRB, but as I noted, this would only court trouble. The altruism of business does not go that far.

The Congress, of course, could hold hearings which would focus public attention on labor's anti-Negro policies. But this would infuriate the AFL-CIO, and what congressman who has received financial help during his election campaign from the unions will open *that* Pandora's Box?

There is one legislative move that could frustrate labor's anti-Negro practices—an extension of the Taft-Hartley Act making membership in a trade union optional rather than compulsory, as it is today in 31 states. If an employer could hire regardless of race, creed or color, the unions could not touch him. And if he had this right, then the onus for discrimination would be on him.

The last thing the AFL-CIO wants, however, is legislation which would bar compulsory membership in unions. When the NAACP protests against the Jim Crow practices of the craft unions, the entire labor leadership rises in wrath, and one of the most unpopular men at the federation's Washington headquarters is the NAACP's Mr. Hill. Labor's lobbyists, making their rounds of House and Senate cloakrooms, let it be known that they take a horrendous view of free unionism in the United States.

The one relief that black workers can hope for is a change in the thinking of the United States Supreme Court. Compulsory unionism violates the 1st, 10th and 14th Amendments, but the Supreme Court has ducked the issue repeatedly. When labor cases came before them, the nine justices seemed to have no eyes for litigation involving compulsory unionsim and violation of the Corrupt Practices Act. Perhaps, as the complexion of the high court changes, it may hear pleadings and hand down decisions that will make the demonstrations in Pittsburgh unnecessary.

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NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● Columnist Bernard Levin of the London Daily Mail wrote last week that he dreaded the outpouring of eulogies for North Viet Nam's Communist president, the Moscow-trained **Ho Chi Minh.** "The plain truth," he wrote, "is that Ho Chi Minh was a ruthless and bloody tyrant. His first action on completing the conquest of North Viet Nam was to slaughter in cold blood some 50,000 men and women who might have opposed his rule. When his campaign to take over South Viet Nam began, it was waged with a policy of deliberate atrocity, as an instrument of terror, the like of which had not been seen in the modern world."

● Levin also said — "From the cases of children literally chopped to pieces before their parents' eyes, in villages temporarily seized by the Viet Cong, to the hundreds of men, women and children who had been clubbed to death and whose bodies were discovered after the Tet offensive, the story was the same—the **grossest atrocities,** committed not in the heat of the battle or the blood-lust of revenge, but as a calculated and important part of gentle, witty Uncle Ho's policies."

● Speaking of those eulogizing the North Vietnamese Red dictator, the **New York Times,** while admitting that Ho was a dedicated, authoritarian Communist, nonetheless began its lead editorial of September 4 with these words, "Ho Chi Minh was a formidable foe who might have been a friend if this country had been more consistently faithful to some of its noblest principles which he admired."

● Insiders say that one reason Secretary of State **William P. Rogers** hasn't shaken up the State Department is that he's being led by the nose by Democratic holdovers in the department's legal division. "Every time the department wants to get rid of a few Democrats or expose some shenanigans of the previous Administration," says one dismayed official, "Rogers' legal advisers say it can't be done."

● Sen. **Philip Hart** D.-Mich.), up for re-election next year, is getting flak from conservative Catholics in his home state because of his wife's rebellious religious activities. Mrs. Hart recently participated in an unauthorized Mass in Washington, D.C., protesting Pope Paul's encyclical on birth control. While the congregation sang "Georgy Girl" and "The Impossible Dream," Mrs. Hart and several of the dissident priests distributed holy communion—an act that shocked more orthodox Catholics. The Mass was sponsored by the Center for Christian Renewal and celebrated by Father John Corrigan, leader of the 40 archdiocesan priests who were penalized nearly a year ago by Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle in a dispute over the encyclical.

● Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) may have won his battle to get Labor Secretary George P. Shultz to revise his coercive **"Philadelphia Plan"** which, according to the U.S. comptroller general, violates the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The proposed plan requires companies bidding on federal construction contracts to agree, in effect, to hire a certain number of minority employes—a direct violation of Title VII of the 1964 law. Despite Shultz' initial desire to push ahead with the proposal anyway, he is now believed to have decided on a compromise. Many observers contend he was misled into backing the project because of some bum advice given him by the department's new solicitor, Lawrence Silberman, who is considered to be a strong ally of Sen. Jacob Javits (R. -N.Y.).

● **Teddy Kennedy** will almost certainly face Republican opposition in 1970. Vincent J. Celeste, former state representative and secretary to the late Massachusetts governor, Christian Herter, said last week he plans to seek the GOP nomination to contest Teddy next year. Celeste, now a Stoneham attorney, was the unsuccessful GOP nominee for the Senate against John F. Kennedy in 1958.

● Rep. **William Brock** (R.-Tenn.) has just about wrapped up the GOP nomination to oppose wild-swinging Democratic Sen. Albert Gore next fall. Nomination of Brock became a virtual certainty recently when fellow Representative (and fellow conservative) Dan Kuykendall announced that he would run for re-election to the House next year rather than for the Senate. The articulate young Brock is given an excellent chance to unseat Gore, who is desperately seeking to mend his fences in a state where Hubert Humphrey got only 28 per cent of the vote last year.

● **Ezra Taft Benson,** who acknowledges that he was asked to be George Wallace's running mate last year, says that he believes Richard Nixon is doing an excellent job as President, save for his Viet Nam war effort. Benson contends the war could be over quickly if the United States only applied the necessary military pressures.

● Republican politicos in the Nation's Capital are hoping that the Nixon Administration has learned something from the recent revolt of **Justice Department lawyers** against the department's civil rights policies. Since the protests were led by Kennedy-Johnson holdovers, the Administration and the department should do the obvious: rapidly remove the holdovers—not only within the Justice Department, but within the rest of the important federal agencies as well.

● The **Episcopal Church** capitulated last week and awarded $200,000 in reparations for Marxist James Forman's Black Economic Development Conference. The Episcopalians thus became the first major denomination to offer money or recognition to the promulgators of the so-called "Black Manifesto." While the church's House of Delegates disassociated itself from the hate-filled rhetoric of the manifesto, it made the grant in an effort to "come to grips with the racial question."

● The Chicago City College Board has renamed its Crane Campus for assassinated black militant **Malcolm X.** This despite a $12,000 survey ordered by the board showing that among local Negroes Malcolm X was a less popular name than Medgar Evers or even Booker T. Washington.

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In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective; it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

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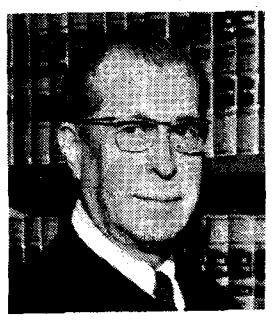
Haynsworth's 'Conflict of Interest'

In taking up the nomination to the Supreme Court of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth Jr., the Senate Judiciary Committee this week will look closely into charges that the South Carolina jurist permitted a "conflict of interest" in 1963 when he sided with the majority in a 3-to-2 decision favoring the Darlington Co. (a Deering Milliken-associated textile plant) over the Textile Workers Union. Haynsworth will come under extensive probing by liberal lawmakers, but he will also have his strong defenders.



HAYNSWORTH

Haynsworth supporters will show he had just a one-seventh interest in Carolina Vend-A-Matic in 1963, and that the "conflict-of-interest" charge has been hurled at Haynsworth even though the vending firm did less than 3 per cent of its gross business with Deering-Milliken enterprises and no business whatsoever with Darlington itself.

Some liberals may pick up the accusation that he violated Canon 26 of the Code of Judicial Ethics of the American Bar Association, but Haynsworth backers will show that the Canon only states that a judge should dispose of, without serious loss, investments "apt to be involved in litigation." Carolina Vend-A-Matic, so far as is known, has never been involved in litigation.

Haynsworth's supporters will also point out that the current "conflict-of-interest" charge—which has suddenly been picked up by the AFL-CIO—was, interestingly enough, not lodged against Haynsworth in 1963. Neither the AFL-CIO nor the Textile Workers Union ever claimed back in 1963 that Judge Haynsworth should have disqualified himself from the controversial Darlington case solely because of his connection with Vend-A-Matic.

Miss Patricia Eames, the attorney for the Textile Workers Union, wrote then Chief Judge Simon E. Sobeloff of the Fourth Judicial Circuit on Dec. 17, 1963,requesting that he look into charges that Deering-Milliken had made a deal to toss all vending business to Vend-A-Matic because of Haynsworth's vote in the Darlington case. Sobeloff later found these charges to be pure fantasy.

In the course of her letter, however, Miss Eames made it clear that the union was well aware that Haynsworth had close ties to Vend-A-Matic. She noted that he had been a founder, a corporate officer and a shareholder in the company.

Yet not once in her three-page, single-spaced letter did she ever suggest that Haynsworth should not have rendered a decision because of his Vend-A-Matic ties. She told Judge Sobeloff that Haynsworth "should be disqualified" only if it could be proved that Deering-Milliken started favoring Vend-A-Matic as a result of Haynsworth's vote.

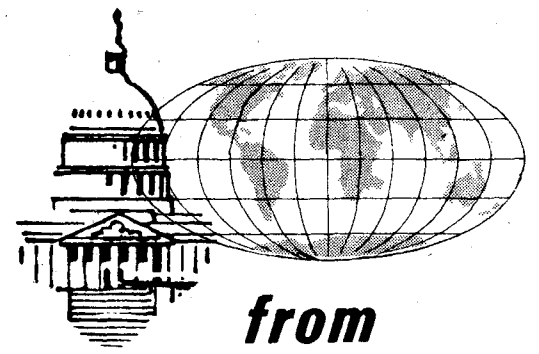
When Sobeloff discovered the charges were false, Miss Eames, on Feb. 6, 1964, apologized and acknowledged that the allegation casting doubt on Haynsworth's integrity "was inaccurate." Neither in her original letter nor letter of apology does she declare—or even imply—that Haynsworth should have removed himself from the case because of his connection with Vend-A-Matic.

Why, Haynsworth supporters will want to know, didn't the union complain if Haynsworth, in fact, was involved in a "conflict of interest"? Since they knew then all the facts they know now, why did the union leaders wait until Haynsworth was appointed to the High Court before making this allegation? Could politics, not legal ethics, be the answer?

Supporters of Haynsworth are also expected to place into the record a copy of Judge Sobeloff's letter of Feb. 18, 1964, clearing Haynsworth of the charge that he may have handed down his decision in favor of Darlington because Deering-Milliken had promised to throw business toward Vend-A-Matic. Sobeloff's letter to Miss Eames reveals the charge is completely untrue. After painstakingly going through Deering-Milliken's contracts with Vend-A-Matic, Sobeloff stated:

"The actual facts do not warrant any inference that Deering-Milliken related mills have preferred Carolina Vend-A-Matic in any way over other vendors."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

In attempting to portray Haynsworth's ethical standards, Sobeloff continued: "When Judge Haynsworth came on this court in 1957, he was a member of the board of directors of a number of corporations. He resigned from the board of each of those corporations which was publicly owned. He did this in order to avoid any chance that someone might undertake to influence him indirectly through a corporation of which he was known to be a director.

"He did not resign from the boards of two corporations. One of those two is a small passive corporation in which members of his family have an interest. It owns real estate under long-term leases and engages in no active business. He also remained on the board of Carolina Vend-A-Matic, which is not publicly owned, for he thought that the considerations which led him to resign from the boards of the other corporations were inapplicable to it and the small, passive corporation.

"Some months ago it became known that judges in other sections of the country were serving on the boards of large, active, publicly owned corporations. They had not done what Judge Haynsworth had done in the first instance. Their service on the boards of such corporations led to criticism, with the result that last fall the Judicial Conference of the United States adopted a resolution that, 'No justice or judge of the United States shall serve in the capacity of an officer, director or employe of a corporation organized for profit.'

"In obedience to this resolution, Judge Haynsworth severed official relations with Carolina Vend-A-Matic and the small, passive corporation. Judge Haynsworth's colleagues knew of these matters at the time and discussed them with him. Clearly his resignation has no sinister implication; it was a prompt, natural and expected response to the resolution adopted by the Judicial Conference.

"Incidentally, we are assured that Judge Haynsworth has had no active participation in the affairs of Carolina Vend-A-Matic, has never sought business for it or discussed procurement of locations for it with the officials or employes of any other company.

"It thus appears that the information received, anonymously, by you was completely unfounded, and it is gratifying that after mature consideration you are convinced of this. . . ."

Persecution at State

President Nixon has tried to make good on a number of promises given during the 1968 campaign, but he has still failed to move in any significant way to clean out the State Department. The issue remains crucial. A special memorandum prepared by veteran department diplomats and now in the hands of White House aides stresses:

"Mr. Nixon's candidacy not only was unsupported by nearly 90 per cent of the personnel of the Department of State, it was opposed, at least passively.

"Long years of Democratic rule have assured a bureaucracy in the department, which if required to be politically neutral in legal terms, nevertheless is so strongly opposed to conservative values that none but 'liberal' concepts in domestic politics are accepted with any degree of tolerance.

"This attitude spills over into foreign policy matters. Intellectual honesty and the freedom to air dissenting; i.e., conservative, ideas (an essential part of any intelligent policy formation process) have remained only a theoretical possibility—to be exercised only at the peril of an officer's career. This was because of the tendency to view all dissenting opinion having conservative or traditionally patriotic modalities as emanating from 'right-wingers' (an epithet at State as damning as 'John Bircher')."

The truth of this astonishing statement was driven home last week, when the Capitol learned about the State Department's attempts to ease out of office John D. Hemenway, a 42-year-old foreign service officer who has been chief of the Berlin Section at State for the past three years.

Human Events has touched lightly on the Hemenway case in previous issues, but had not disclosed his name for fear of hurting his chances to reverse his impending separation from his job. But in the past two weeks conservative columnists have begun to reveal the details behind his ouster, so *Human Events* feels free to tell what some believe is a typical tale of conservative harassment by the department.

A Rhodes Scholar and an Annapolis honor graduate, fluent in both German and Russian, Hemenway has had a remarkable record in the department. He entered the State Department in 1954 and rose quickly to his FSO-4 grade by 1960. So well has he performed, in fact, that he was put in his present job even though it is usually occupied by someone at a higher grade level.

An official evaluation of Hemenway in 1967 said

Conservative Awards Dinner Planned Oct. 4

Human Events, National Review, Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union have announced plans for a jointly sponsored dinner to honor for distinguished service a conservative member of the U.S. House of Representatives and a conservative member of the Senate. Billed as the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner, the black tie event will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., Saturday, October 4 at 8:00 p.m.

Listed on the dinner committee are Hon. John M. Ashbrook, chairman, ACU; William F. Buckley Jr., Editor, National Review; John L. Jones, executive director, ACU; David Keene, national chairman, YAF; Robert D. Kephart, publisher, Human Events; William A. Rusher, publisher, National Review; Randal C. Teague, executive director, YAF; and Thomas Winter, editor, Human Events.

Persons interested in tickets for the dinner may write Conservative Awards Dinner, Suite 1, 328 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Tickets are $25 per person. Checks should be made payable to the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner.

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he was "a master of the complexities of the Berlin situation. . . ." His work has also been highly praised by former Ambassador to Germany George McGee and the current U.S. minister in Berlin, Brewster Morris, both of whom sought a promotion for Hemenway. On September 23 of last year, Morris sent a letter to the department declaring that "Hemenway's performance has been outstanding."

Yet Hemenway did not receive a promotion. On January 17 of this year, Hemenway received notification in an undated letter from Ambassador John Steeves, then director general of the Foreign Service, that he was being summarily axed. The department then granted him one of the shortest grace periods on record and pressed for Hemenway to be removed from the Foreign Service in April—just six months before he would be entitled to a pension.

Only because of vigorous determination and a new Administration has Hemenway managed to stay on long enough to receive his pension, but the State Department still plans to push him out of the Foreign Service this month.

Why the sudden dismissal notice by the previous Administration? The evidence is convincing that Hemenway would have been promoted save for his having repeatedly crossed swords with his immediate superiors in the State Department, in particular, Alfred Puhan, acting deputy assistant secretary for European affairs, and Alexander C. Johnpoll, acting director of German affairs.

While Hemenway took the tough line against the Soviets, for instance, Puhan and Johnpoll tended to be soft. Hemenway, furthermore, was normally proved to be correct. In addition, Hemenway was anathema to much of the State Department because he had been a pre-Miami Nixon supporter and his wife was a precinct Republican worker during the 1968 presidential campaign.

Hemenway's conflict with the Puhan-Johnpoll axis went deep. Hemenway, for instance, supported the U.S. position in Berlin and the institutions, policies, mechanisms and legal structures erected to shore up our position there. Puhan, however, constantly referred to such support as "occupation mentality," evidence of "inflexibility" and proof that Hemenway was yet another officer affected by the "Berlin syndrome."

Hemenway resisted a Puhan directive that he should permit "Red" Rudi Dutschke, a New Left type who had made a major contribution to student riots in Europe, to receive a U.S. visa. He also opposed a directive from Johnpoll, believed to have originated with Puhan, to abolish the Berlin Task Force. (Hemenway clearly won out on these issues, by the way: Dutschke did not receive a visa, while the Berlin Task Force remains in existence.)

Hemenway's unwillingness to ban a Latvian youth group from holding in Berlin a long-planned international meeting also infuriated Puhan. And Puhan was upset when Hemenway fought a proposal he sponsored that would almost certainly have put the Socialists rather than the Christian Democrats in power after Erhard's ouster as chancellor in 1966.

The list of disputes with Puhan is endless. But the record clearly shows that Hemenway continued to support a strong, anti-Communist U.S. posture in Berlin while Puhan did not. For his pains, Hemenway was given his walking papers. And Puhan? He's been made ambassador to Hungary under the Nixon Administration.

Human Events has it on good authority that there are people in the White House who are gravely concerned about the Hemenway-Puhan episode—not only because of the individuals involved, but because they think it reflects a pattern in State Department operations.

Certain Nixon appointees are known to be diligently working to rectify the situation—and there are some indications that Hemenway's obvious talents will still be used by the Nixon Administration while Puhan may have to account for his curious diplomatic activities.

But those who hope for a shake-up at the State Department were not exactly encouraged by the leak that William B. Macomber Jr. may become the deputy assistant secretary for administration in charge of personnel. Macomber, who worked for the Johnson Administration as assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, was one of those who helped feed anti-Hemenway stories to Republican senators who inquired about his predicament.

LBJ's Largess to Austin

The politics of pork were spotlighted last week by Associated Press reporter Peggy Simpson who disclosed that Lyndon Johnson's longtime political and business headquarters— Austin, Tex. —snared more than 5,000 new federal jobs while LBJ served as vice president and President.

Regional offices moved into Austin during the Johnson reign to oversee operations in as many as 17 states. Bookkeeping and data-processing facilities with nationwide operations were placed in the once-quiet Texas capital just outside Johnson's home town of Johnson City.

Nothing so much illustrates LBJ's cynical use of tax dollars as the giant IRS regional service center announced for Austin in late 1961.

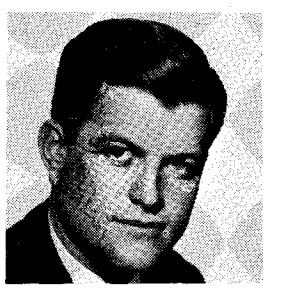
IRS officials had initially decided that the office would be located in Dallas for overriding reasons of economy and administration. But Johnson exploded, chiefly because Dallas was then represented by a bitter political foe, Republican Congressman Bruce Alger.

"I will do everything in my power to prevent any other federal agency from being located in Dallas," the vice president reportedly told IRS. "If you decide to put it in Dallas, I'll raise hell."

Johnson "suggested" Austin, then represented by Rep. Homer Thornberry, an LBJ lackey who was in political trouble and needed announcement of a huge federal payroll. And, lo and behold, IRS settled upon Austin. The center has not yet been built, but plans remain intact for the Austin site.

Teddy Stalls Inquest

Teddy Kennedy won the first round last week in his desperate battle to quash an inquest into the tragic death of Mary Jo Kopechne. With only 17 hours to go before the inquest was to open in the Edgartown courtroom of District Judge James A. Boyle, Kennedy lawyers won a reprieve from Chief Justice James A. Reardon of the Massachusetts Supreme Court.



KENNEDY

The senator's high-powered four-man legal team interceded with Reardon and won a restraining order prohibiting the inquest until the full court could consider the "grave constitutional questions" raised by Kennedy. That will not be for at least a month and perhaps longer.

The Kennedy lawyers argue that Judge Boyle's refusal to permit cross-examination at the inquest and the massive publicity the drowning has received violated the senator's right to a fair trial—despite the fact the inquest is not a trial and Kennedy is not a defendant.

A number of Kennedy aides argued privately that efforts to block the inquest would be construed as an attempt to hide the truth and damaging politically. But the senator rejected their arguments and directed his battery of lawyers to take "all necessary steps" to block the inquest.

Although Judge Boyle made his ruling the morning of August 28 and Kennedy's lawyers took formal exception to it at the time, they did not go to the Massachusetts Supreme Court that afternoon or the next day, but waited until Tuesday, September 3. The significant aspect of this delay is that, in the Massachusetts system, one Supreme Court justice sits each month to hear unusual writs and petitions and Justice Reardon had drawn this assignment beginning September 3. Since Justice Reardon's strong views on pre-trial publicity are well-known, the Kennedy lawyers evidently felt their petition would receive more favorable treatment if they waited until he was on the bench.

Why should Kennedy oppose the probe? The inquest, some insiders claimed, might reveal the senator's culpability in the car accident and lead to a trial in which he could be convicted of a more serious crime than just leaving the scene of an accident. *Newsweek* Editor Charles Roberts, who has spent the past month digging into the Chappaquiddick mystery, indicated that exposure of what happened just might prove politically more embarrassing than a cover-up.

Roberts disclosed that even Kennedy intimates who helped prepare the senator's televised explanation of the July 18 events are uncertain what actually happened. "I didn't like what they cooked up," said one of the senator's associates. "I feel sorry for Ted, but I feel even sorrier for Mary Jo," said another bitterly.

Roberts believes that an inquest would bring forth "persuasive evidence that Sen. Kennedy and Mary Jo were not headed for the Edgartown Ferry"—as he told police—when they left the Chappaquiddick cottage. An inquest would also lead Judge Boyle to the "almost inescapable conclusion that Sen. Kennedy spent some or most of the nine hours trying to devise some way of absolving himself of responsibility for Mary Jo's drowning."

At the inquest, Judge Boyle would be expected to pursue the theory that Teddy at least entertained the idea of letting Mary Jo appear to be the lone occupant of the car. And Judge Boyle would be expected to examine the peculiar behavior of Kennedy flunkies Joe Gargan and Paul Markham—behavior that apparently does not jibe with Teddy's televised version of the affair.

Most damaging to all, perhaps, would be the inquest testimony of John Farrar, the diver who removed Mary Jo's body from the submerged car. Columnist Jack Anderson disclosed last week that Farrar has told authorities investigating the case that "a large amount of air would have initially been trapped" inside the car. Had he been summoned immediately after the accident, Farrar said, there was a "strong possibility" Mary Jo would have been pulled out alive.

Farrar supplied District Attorney Edwin Dinis with detailed diagrams buttressing his claim. When the Kennedy car settled upside down on the bottom of Poucha Pond, Farrar said, "a large amount of air would have been trapped beneath the floorboard of the car."

And the position of Miss Kopechne's body would indicate that she had located this air and was indeed alive for some period after the crash. Farrar noted that 12 hours after the crash, there were still air bubbles in the car—although not in the passenger's section.

Had Kennedy summoned help immediately after the crash, Farrar concluded, "there is a strong possibility that she would have been alive upon removal from the submerged car."

It is precisely this sort of testimony that many believe induced Kennedy to do all he could to close off any inquest open to the public.

New York's 'Limousine Liberal'

Mayor John Lindsay used to dazzle the crowds with his smiles and good looks, but somehow the mayor's charm has worn thin during the three years he has governed Gotham. As Lindsay wages his campaign for reelection, he appears to run into hostile knots of voters wherever he goes. September 1 was a particularly bad day for the mayor as he was greeted by ill-wishers in every campaign appearance.

LINDSAY

At the Shorehaven Beach Club in the Clason Point area of the Bronx, Lindsay's first stop of the day, he was met by the usual crush of bikini-clad girls seeking to gather just a glimpse of the handsome young mayor. But there were anti-Lindsay signs in the crowds as well, while angry men shouted: "What's that bum doing here? . . . Dump Lindsay! . . . You limousine liberal!"

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So obstreperous were his opponents that the pool owners felt compelled to broadcast over the public address system: "The mayor is here as our guest. Show him the same respect you would for any other candidate. We are nonpartisan."

Many in the crowd, mostly women, echoed this view while the mayor walked through the grounds and then swam in the pool. But Lindsay and his party left with a crowd of more than 100 chanting: "Lindsay Must Go!"

Even before he reached the gate at the Clear View Club in Queens, he was greeted by a song demanding "Where was Lindsay when it snowed?"—a barb directed at the city's inability to clear away the heavy snow this past winter.

As the mayor, with the aid of his bodyguard, made his way into the grounds, one man called: "Where's your membership card? You better show it." Remarked another: "Go home, you don't belong here." Groups of people began arguing after the mayor passed and one dispute at poolside stopped only after an anti-Lindsayite was decked.

In his Far Rockaway speech in Queens, the mayor tried to turn on the crowds by suggesting a vote against him was a vote against decency. Acknowledging he was engaged in an "uphill battle" to build "a new kind of coalition in New York City," Lindsay stressed that, "I, for one, am betting on the decency and wisdom of New Yorkers—not against them."

Though an initial wave of applause swept the audience, many of whom were perched on porches, in trees and on cottage rooftops, a chorus of boos and "Dump Lindsay" chants swelled to such proportions that the mayor had to skip eight paragraphs of his speech.

Lindsay's trouble with the crowds weren't his only worries, either. Lindsay aides confessed last week that "Destiny's Tot" was having fund-raising problems, largely because of his loss in the Republican primary. Not only are many Republicans refusing to support him now, but many of the large contributors to his 1965 campaign are chipping in only one-third as much this time.

It's still a long time between now and November when the election takes place, but unless Lindsay can pull a miracle, New York politicos believe the fair-haired boy of liberalism is about to be bounced out of elective office.

Northern Ireland's 'Miniskirted Castro'

The mass media barely touched on it, but both the New and Old Left pretty much shepherded Miss Bernadette Devlin around the United States in her $1-million fund-raising tour to aid the victims of Northern Ireland. The 22-year-old fiery Member of Parliment from Belfast, who cut short her trip to the United States last week, seemed hardly displeased, however, since she describes herself as a "Socialist."

A West Coast expert on the Left wrote *Human Events:* "Bernadette Devlin certainly got the Red red carpet treatment out here. I can't understand why there hasn't been more press on the Marxist nature of her campaign.

"The chairman of her U.S. operation, the National Association for Irish Justice, is Brian S. Heron, an Irish national, who was a leader of the Peace and Freedom party out here in 1968. The P&F supported Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Marxist, for President. She also used the convention hall of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

"Aside from the 'class struggle' phrases she drops in her speeches and the returning of 'clenched-fist' salutes to her fans, her hostess-fund raiser out here was Jessica Mitford, who has been identified under oath as a Communist. (San Francisco's Mayor Alioto, by the way, supplied Miss Devlin with one of his black limousines and a police escort.)

"The Communist *Daily World* has also been jumping through the hoops for Miss Devlin. The September 3 issue reveals that she told a cheering crowd of Irish Americans in New York—no doubt sympathetic to the plight of the Irish in Belfast—that they should be inspired by the examples of such leaders as James Connolly. The *World* identifies Connolly as an 'Irish Marxist trade union leader and commander of the Easter Rebellion in 1916' who was 'shot by the British imperialists.' Miss Devlin, however, is enthusiastic for Connolly. The *World* quotes her as saying: 'Remember the things that he fought for and the tricolor he fought for. They are the same things people in Bogside are fighting for today—Connolly called it socialism and I call it socialism."

While Miss Devlin had originally stirred up much sympathy in the Irish community, her Marxist background has apparently disenchanted many possible supporters. Many are now worried that the money they might channel through Miss Devlin and her National Association for Irish Justice would help to fuel "socialism" more than those who have been left helpless by the civil strife in Northern Ireland.

Hartke's Curious Double Standard

Sen. Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.) is coming under critical fire in his home state for his curious fund-raising efforts. Up for re-election next year, the Democratic senator has been "delighted to give his blessings" to a $100-a-plate fund-raising dinner in his behalf by a group of businessmen. Scheduled for September 15, the dinner is sponsored by magnates of the transportation industry, among others, including a large Indiana trucking line and the Association of Western Railroads.

HARTKE

The dinner sponsors have made it clear that Hartke is in an important position to bestow favors—or withhold them. The letter announcing the affair notes that Hartke has "influential positions on both the Commerce and Finance Committees, which are so closely involved with the policies of government affecting our economy." Hartke, moreover, is chairman of the Surface Transportation subcommittee of the Commerce Committee.

Hartke has also accepted $2,500 from a New York stockbroker nicknamed "Scarsdale Fats." According to Jacques H. Leroy, the senator's aide, "Fats" is chipping in because of the senator's "capacity of reaching people of consequence."

Hartke's "blessings" to such fund-raising activities have raised some eyebrows, but not only because it smacks of having business friends subtly blackjacking other businessmen into tossing money into Hartke's campaign.

Equally interesting is the fact that Hartke in 1967 voted to censure Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), who had raised several hundred thousand dollars through tax-free testimonial dinners, a portion of which was used for private purposes.

As the Indianapolis *News* remarked about Hartke's money-raising techniques: "Such goings on are not, of course, unusual in Congress. Many members have their 'friends' put on such affairs in order to obtain campaign funds. It is strange, however, to note Hartke's vote in condemnation of Sen. Dodd, when the Indiana senator isn't above involving himself in a situation which might lead to possible conflicts of interests with his senatorial duties."

The Free-Spending 91st

As the members of Congress returned to the Capitol after a three-week vacation, some observers were sarcastically suggesting that they extend their leave on the grounds that the taxpayer would be saved more money.

For the U.S. Congress is not only responsible for the reckless federal spending that is helping to ruin the economy, but, as data compiled by the Department of Commerce reveals, it is also primarily to blame for the inflationary wage increases that have hit both industry and local governments throughout the country.

Civilian employes of the federal government, for instance, received wage increases averaging no less than 9 per cent last month under a bill passed by Congress in 1967. The lawmakers themselves stashed away a cool $12,500 annual salary hike this year as a result of the 1967 legislation. The cost to the taxpayers of these boosts will be over $2.5 billion a year.

Yet these federal pay increases, it now develops, come on top of an average wage scale which was already higher than in any other major category of labor. In 1968, for instance, federal civilian employes had an annual average salary of $8,769. The next best-paying industry, transportation, paid $100 less per employe. The average in mining was $7,958; contract construction, $7,939; communications and public utilities, $7,848; manufacturing, $7,347, etc.

Federal salaries are not only high, but they have risen faster, measured by percentage, then the wages of any other major group except construction workers and public school teachers.

As the Chicago *Tribune* remarked last week: "The generosity of a public body toward its employes seems to vary in direct proportion to its access to tax money. Congress has access to most of the tax money, and, in addition, it is far enough removed from the average taxpayer not to hear his howls. . . . It is to Congress, therefore, that the burdened taxpayer should direct his complaints about the soaring cost of bureaucracy."

YAF Plans New Left Attack

"Sock It to the Left" was the theme of the fifth national convention of Young Americans for Freedom held during the past week at Stouffer's Riverfront Inn in St. Louis, Mo. Nearly 1,000 young conservatives gathered to elect officers, pass resolutions and listen to speeches by some of the big names in the American conservative movement.

Among the conservative luminaries who addressed the delegates were William F. Buckley Jr., Phyllis Schlafly, Dr. Philip Crane, Stephen Shadegg, Fulton Lewis III and Rep. Donald (Buz) Lukens of Ohio.

A highlight of the convention was the announcement of YAF's new legal offensive against leftist disruptions on the campuses. University of Wisconsin law student David Keene, the newly elected YAF chairman, vowed to put his organization in the path of New Left demonstrations.

Keene said that YAF chapters would go to court to seek injunctions against radical student demonstrations or college administrators that relinquish control to the radicals and/or close the campuses.

The convention, however, was not altogether harmonious, as repeated friction between the "traditionalists" and a smaller group of "libertarians" continued to surface during the four-day affair. The "traditionalists" follow a standard conservative philosophy about an ordered society, while the "libertarians" tend to give primacy to individual freedom and therefore are not always comfortable with direction from the national YAF office. While the traditionalist-libertarian split was evident in such states as Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in California it was dramatized by the reluctance of the two groups to even sit in the same row of seats together.

Despite the libertarian challenge to many current YAF policies and programs, the traditionalists carried the day by winning all the national offices and passing a number of hard-hitting resolutions. Among these resolutions, YAF called for "victory over communism," the winning of the Viet Nam war within the year, possibly through invasion of North Viet Nam by South Vietnamese troops and the blockading of Haiphong harbor, the maintenance of a military defense "second to none" and support of Sen. Goldwater's bill calling for a volunteer military.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The Alchemists in Our Public Schools" by Roger A. Freeman, an article which appeared in the July 26 issue of **Human Events**, is now available as a reprint. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25; 500 for $100. Also available is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant . . . Then Too Cowardly."** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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Why Is NEA Tax-Exempt?

The Education Lobby

From the Washington *Daily News*

Last spring there was a report that the million-member National Education Association (NEA) would soon get word from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) that it had lost its tax-exempt status.

Because of NEA's recent performance in spurring the House to increase sharply the Administration education budget, we think the action should have taken place some time ago.

The NEA was the prime mover in what it calls a "behind-the-scenes" organization named the Emergency Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs. This is an umbrella—a registered lobby—for what NEA calls 70 "education-minded groups brought together by NEA."

The lobby persuaded the House to tack $894.5 million onto the President's education budget. Nearly half of that was "impact aid"—federal money dished out to school districts if a certain percentage or number of federal employes live and work in the school districts. Impact aid goes into 385 of the 435 congressional districts and since its birth in the Korean War has become a pork barrell for which no spending guidelines exist and for which no accounting of results need be made.

If the House amendments are retained by the Senate, impact aid will cost the taxpayers $600 million this fiscal year.

NEA's lobby also worked hand in glove with book publishers, manufacturers of educational hardware and the never-satisfied college lobbying groups to boost their shares of federal revenue.

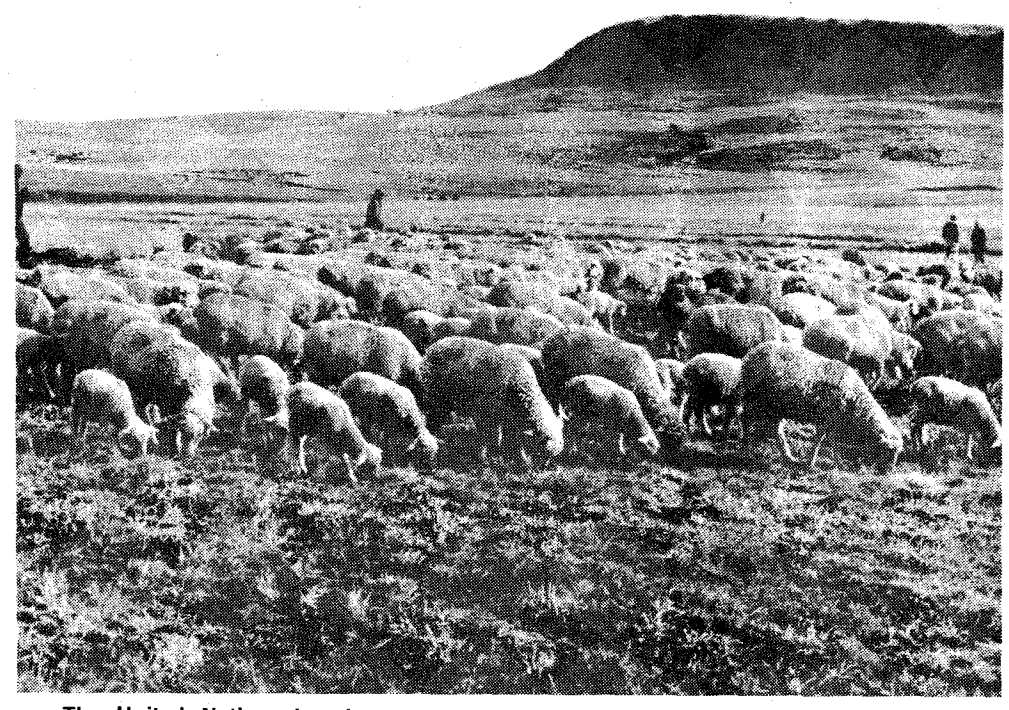
In all of this, there seemed more concern for pay, perquisites, profits and the perpetuation of bureaucracies than for the results—or lack of results—of federal aid to education.

NEA won its appropriations increase and House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D.-Okla.)—according to an NEA press release—called NEA's work "the most effective lobbying effort in years."

It would seem only fair that IRS repay NEA's efforts by challenging its tax exemption.

□□□

WCC SOFT ON CASTRO—"Meeting near historic Canterbury, England, the central committee of the World Council of Churches recently adopted a resolution calling on the United States to resume trading with Red Fidel Castro's Cuba—with nothing said about possible concessions by Castro. A couple of U.S. Lutheran committee members voted against the resolution—to their credit, we think. And speaking of U.S. Protestant churches maintaining membership in the WCC, we believe now would be an excellent time for all of them to pull out—all the way out. This outfit's pilots oftener than not show tenderness toward communism, which is out to destroy all religions except its perversions of religion."—From the New York *Daily News*



The United Nations has been notably silent or ineffective on major international conflicts such as the Middle East and Viet Nam. But South Africa, which hasn't bothered any of its neighbors, is consistently bad-mouthed by the U.N. Above, a grazing scene in the South African-administered Transkei.

Crises Abound, But U.N. Takes Aim on South Africa

By RUSSELL KIRK

If ever there was a body that talked loudly and carried a twig, that institution is the United Nations. In diplomacy, said Theodore Roosevelt, "Never first shake your fist, and then shake your finger." But the U.N. bellows preposterously—and owns no big stick.

Take present concerns in the U.N.'s Security Council. What is the Security Council doing about the fighting—that any moment might become a full-scale war—between Israel and her Arab neighbors? Precisely nothing.

What is the Security Council doing about the grim Asiatic confrontation of China and Russia, with both immense powers talking about possible nuclear warfare? Precisely nothing,.

What is the Security Council doing about the war in Viet Nam? Precisely what it has done since the war commenced—nothing.

Then what, or whom, is the Security Council worried about? Why, the Republic of South Africa.

Last March the U.N. demanded that the republic withdraw entirely from the vast area (mostly desert) called Southwest Africa. Nothing happened. This month the Security Council told the Republic of South Africa that it must withdraw from Southwest Africa by October 4, or sanctions may be imposed upon South Africa. What will happen? Precisely nothing, except a further humiliation of the United Nations fantastics.

Ordering the Republic of South Africa to withdraw from Southwest Africa is not much madder than it would be to order the United States to withdraw from the Virgin Islands, or Britain to withdraw from Bermuda. For the South African commonwealth has administered Southwest Africa ever since the German garrison there surrendered during World War I and there exists no alternative government for that wild territory.

Last year the International Court of Justice refused to interfere with South Africa's trusteeship of the territory, which has existed far longer than has the U.N. itself. As a gesture of appeasement to the more fanatic zealots of the Afro-Asian bloc in the U.N., however, the Security Council violates the U.N.'s own constitution by giving orders to South Africa. (The U.N. constitution specifies that it may not interfere in the internal affairs of member states.)

If the South African administration really were to withdraw from Southwest Africa, that land would be ruined economically, for all investment—including the very railway cars—is South African. Worse, the resulting anarchy might make the Congo look pale and moderate.

For most of the diverse inhabitants of that scantily populated territory live in a savage or a barbaric state. There exists no majority people—let alone an educated native class. The Ovambo peoples, in the far north—the most numerous group—are closely allied with the South African government and do not desire independence.

Herreros, Hottentots, Rehobothers (a peculiar farming people of mingled Dutch and Hottentot blood) and lesser ethnic groups would be at one another's throats in a matter of days, were the South African administrators to withdraw. Did the U.N. never hear of Biafra?

But South Africa's military forces being stronger than those of all the rest of Africa combined, the Security Council will do no more than fulminate. If any sanctions are imposed they will be still less effective than the silly sanctions against Rhodesia. Perhaps it is time for the United States to exercise its veto power in the Security Council, if merely to save the U.N. from the consequences of its own lunacy.

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Will Colleges Hold Firm This Fall?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

A last-minute exhortation is in order just now for the presidents of American institutions of higher learning: Stand fast! Don't panic! And don't yield to violence.

Within the next two or three weeks upwards of seven million students will stream back to the campuses. It is pointless to remark that the great bulk of them will be ordinary students—bright ones, dull ones, smooth ones, rough ones. Among their number will be a significant fraction who cannot be truly described as students at all. They are anti-students; their aim is destruction. This year, they have to be dealt with.

It is important, at the outset of the school year, once again to identify certain priorities and purposes. George Mason's sage advice, in the Virginia Declaration of Rights, was that men should recur to fundamental principles. It is time for that now.

What is the primary purpose of a university? It is to create and to preserve an atmosphere, and to provide the necessary means, in which a community of scholars may pursue higher learning.

This is not to say that university climates must be all alike. It is possible to pursue learning under thunderheads as well as sunny skies. Neither is this to suggest that "learning" has to be confined to classrooms or pursued through particular courses. But it is to say, emphatically, that the first duty of a university is to maintain conditions under which the pursuit may go forward.

It ought not to be necessary to restate the elementary truths, but the failure of college administrators last year was a failure in precisely this respect. By yielding to gun-slinging young fascists, and by condoning the seizure and looting of property, college officials abandoned their first duty: They did not maintain that climate of disciplined freedom in which a community of scholars may survive.

Doubtless they had reasons to explain their failure. We heard some of those reasons—and feeble reasons they were—in testimony before congressional committees some months ago. By and large, the weak administrators accepted counsels of appeasement. They took a useful tradition—that police ought not to be summoned to a campus—and elevated it to an article of faith. They subordinated the rights of those law-abiding students who wanted only to study, and they temporized with faculty members who should have been fired out of hand.

As back-to-school time looms for the nation's college campuses, columnist Kilpatrick hopes that academic administrations will not permit some of the past militant nonsense to take place.

Was anything learned by the harsh lessons of last year? Perhaps so. Leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society are seen more clearly now as hypocrites, neo-Nazis, and plain extortioners. Their object is not to promote a democratic society, but to end it.

It may be understood this fall, better than it was understood a year ago, that nothing of enduring value is to be gained by negotiating with nihilists. Here and there, disloyal professors have in fact been disciplined; a few student ringleaders have in fact been expelled. The uses of court injunctions are seen more clearly now.

Maybe the 1969-70 school year will be better. This is the cheery forecast of a high-ranking member of the Nixon Administration who recently spoke off the record to the Washington press. He felt the worst of the storm had passed. This much, at least, is true: College presidents know that if they fail again, a restive Congress no longer can be restrained from adopting punitive legislation.

For my own part, I merely exhort; and hope. Freedom is the merest illusion, a vain ephemeral thing, if it is not accompanied by order. When men speak of "academic freedom," they are speaking implicitly of academic discipline also, for the one is meaningless without the other. And there can be neither order nor discipline when the rights of law-abiding scholars are surrendered to an insolent, insatiable mob.

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CORRECTION

"I would like to offer a correction in my article, 'One-Sided Capital-Gains Tax' (*Human Events*, September 6).

"In my proposal for an alternative form of capital-gains tax, I suggested that capital gains (after the taxpayer had been allowed to deflate them against any rise in the official consumer price index) be segregated and taxed at ordinary income tax rates, but that the amount subject to tax be divided by "the number of full years" the asset had been held. This, it belatedly occurs to me, might in many cases treat long-term capital gains—from assets held more than six months but less than two years—more harshly even than they are treated under present law.

"I therefore suggest that an exception be made for capital gains on all assets held more than six months and less than two years. These should be divided in two before the tax is figured, as they are under present law. For assets held more than two and up to 10 years the proposed formula, that the capital gain subject to tax should be divided by the number of full years the asset has been held, would still apply. No capital gain from any asset held for more than 10 years would be subject to tax at all.

"It must be kept in mind that under this plan capital losses would be deductible only against capital gains, and not against regular income."

—Henry Hazlitt

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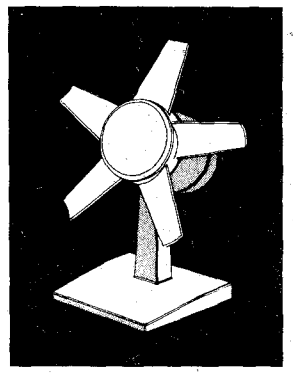

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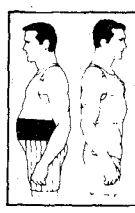

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Liberals Call for U.S. Pull-Back in Latin America

Blind to Communist threat, they want end to U.S. military aid and missions

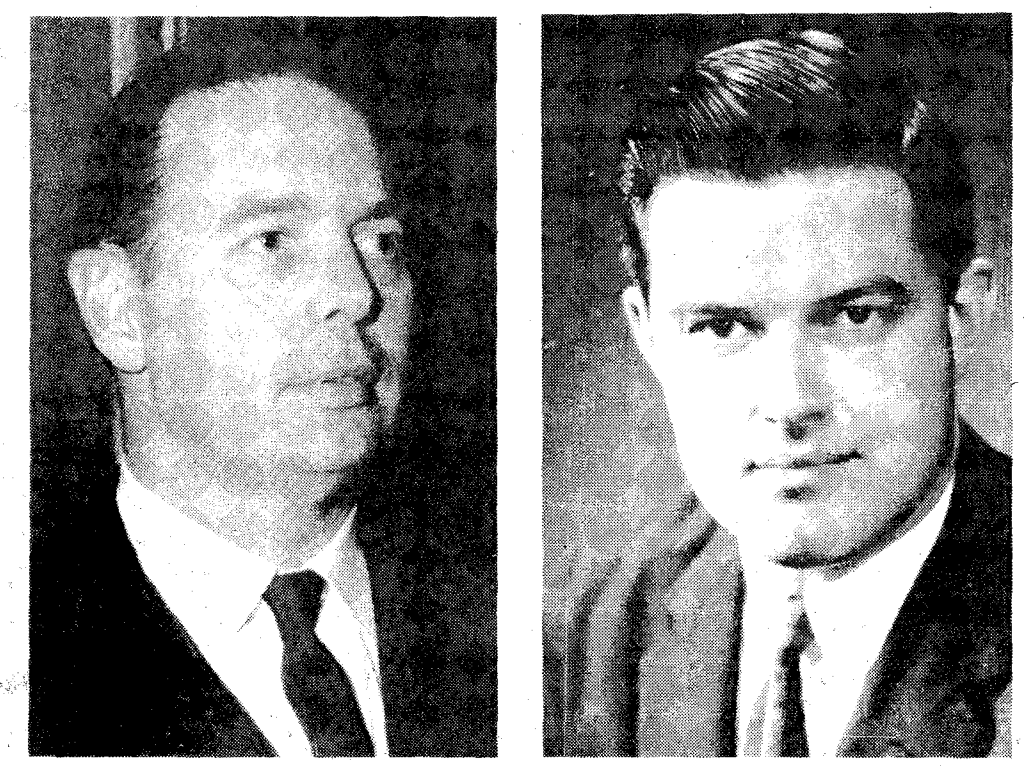
By PAUL BETHEL

In yet another assault on America's commitment against Communist aggression, a small but powerful group of people is proposing that the United States retire its military missions from Latin America and terminate military aid to our friends. Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) has used his Subcommittee on Latin America to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a very effective platform to propagate these views. A stream of liberals, many of whom served under President Kennedy, are willing and ready to oblige him—among them Ralph Dungan, ambassador to Chile 1964-67; David Bronheim, a former coordinator of the Alliance for Progress; and George Lodge, an assistant secretary of labor under Eisenhower and JFK.

Bronheim straight-facedly told the Church subcommittee: "Demonstrations and rebellions today in Latin America are not led by Communists nor encouraged by Russia." And further: "The Russians today do not have a policy for fomenting guerrilla wars in Latin America, and, accordingly, rebels and demonstrators alike look on the local Moscow-line Communists as reactionaries." Bronheim, who directs the Ford Foundation-financed Center for Inter-American Relations in New York, stressed again: "My point is simply the insurgency threat today is not from the Communists." Period.

Ralph Dungan, who is largely responsible for U.S. support of Chile's Christian Democrats despite their steady march toward Marxism, had this to say: "The principal threat to the United States in Latin America is not communism but a form of Nasserism which tends to grow in Latin American republics." (This may be considered a variation on the "agrarian reformer" theme used in the 1940s to describe Mao Tse-tung's Communist legions, I suppose.) Dungan arrives at this astonishing conclusion: "To continue to assist the Latin American military means to encourage insurrection rather than to insure stability."

Mr. Lodge is equally uninformed: "The organization of the Communist party in Latin America does not constitute a revolutionary force or even a serious threat to American interests." Referring to Brazil, Lodge states: "The most radical elements are not the Communists, but the priests."



Former U.S. Ambassador to Chile Ralph Dungan (left) is among those trying to minimize U.S. influence in Latin America by cutting back military aid. Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) is using his Senate subcommittee on Latin America as a forum for such liberal views.

For his part, Sen. Church extends the attack on U.S. military assistance to Latin America with the comment that it is a "hydra-headed monster that has very strong support in Congress, in the State Department and even in the White House." For which, we might add, thank God. Uninformed and irrational attacks on the military—any military, anywhere—have reached serious proportions and threaten the very security of our country and that of our allies.

What about the facts?

With no more research than a mere reading of news dispatches and official statements, Sen. Church, Mr. Bronheim, et al., would learn (1) that the Communists are indeed behind terrorist and guerrilla attacks in Latin America; and (2) that the Soviet Union has both a policy *and* a plan to assault free nations of our hemisphere. Let's examine just a few bits of evidence, all taken from published reports:

Colombia's *El Tiempo* reported on January 12 that the government (ruled, incidentally, by the Liberal party) had "discovered an international Communist subversive plot which extends to Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil and Colombia." *El Tiempo* reported in the same edition that "70 guerrilla delegates from five countries met in the Andes Mountains along the Venezuelan-Colombian border to 'integrate' their activities in a continental war of subversion and terror." The meeting took place between December 20-31 last year and was attended by three Soviet KGB agents, one identified by the government as B. Tarascov.

On January 13 Venezuela's minister of interior, Reinaldo Leandro Mora, confirmed the *El Tiempo* story, saying that his information "fully coincides with the reports published in the Bogotá daily."

Urban riots, which the Bronheim-Lodge-Dungan axis concludes have not received support or encouragement from Communists, convulsed five Colombian cities last January and left 13 killed and 200 arrested. They were the direct result of plans made at the guerrilla conference.

Citing another Bogotá daily, *El Espectador,* that two members of the Soviet Embassy attended a meeting of Marxist labor leaders which planned those riots, *El Tiempo* went on to say on January 19: "The rioters received instructions from the Central Committee of the pro-Soviet Communist party in Bogotá to take advantage of a labor dispute involving a hike in bus fares to create a wave of terror." The signal to start the riots was given by radio from Havana. President Lleras Restrepo was able to control the situation only after mobilizing tens of thousands of troops and placing the five cities under a form of martial law.

Moreover, President Lleras discovered that an official from the Soviet Embassy in Havana periodically traveled to Mexico City to turn over money to a Castroite courier. The courier then took the funds to Bogotá for the purpose of supporting Communist guerrillas. One was captured at El Dorado airport in Bogotá with $100,000 in U.S. money together with Soviet plans to intensify both urban and rural guerrilla wars in Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia and Panama.

These initial Soviet beginnings in creating a united "continental guerrilla force" have advanced considerably over the following six months.

On July 31 the French news service AFP moved this startling story. Said AFP over a Bogotá dateline: "Military sources here revealed today that Colombian and Venezuelan guerrillas recently merged. They did so on the recommendation of the Soviet Union. Venezuelan Pompilio Figueredo has announced that the Soviet Union is prepared to finance these rebel groups on the condition that the merger will formally take place to put an end to ideological quarrels among the group which had been divided between pro-Chinese, pro-Soviets and pro-Castroites." In other words, the Soviet Union has consolidated the guerrilla groups under its command.

El Espectador had more to say on the subject. "According to military intelligence sources," reported the Bogotá daily, "Commander Pompilio Figueredo was said to be able to deliver $1 million in U.S. currency in the name of the Soviet Union to achieve the unification of the guerrilla struggle."

Moreover, *El Espectador* reported that "the Soviet Union submitted the name of Manuel Marulanda (alias "Tiro Fijo") as commander-in-chief, and Castroite Fabio Vasquez as his deputy." AFP also quotes the Colombian intelligence sources on the $1-million figure, then adds that other subversive civilian groups have been brought into the new front, identifying them as "the Worker-Student-Peasant Movement, and 'progressive' priests." "Tiro Fijo" is a member of the Politburo of the Soviet-controlled Colombian Communist party which also works hand-in-glove with Fidel Castro.

On August 5 *El Tiempo* charged the Kremlin with financing two Communist meetings, "disguised as student assemblies" and organized by something called the "World Federation of Democratic Youth." The purpose of those meetings, *El Tiempo* reported, "is to adopt measures for uninterrupted promotion of subversion. Though Peking-line and Camilista supporters will be present at the conferences, actually they are financed and organized by the Moscow line."

Among the subjects to be treated at the October 9-12 meeting is the distribution of funds made available by the USSR for maintaining guerrilla movements and a membership drive within universities, schools, labor unions and the like.

Soviet intrigue extends southward toward the tip of the continent. In Brazil, Gov. Abreu Sodre of São Paulo State said recently that terrorists operating in his country receive both local and foreign aid from Communists.

The governor's statement came on the heels of the discovery of a Castro-Communist training camp containing a powerful radio transmitter capable of reaching Cuba, a helicopter landing site and large amounts of arms and ammunition.

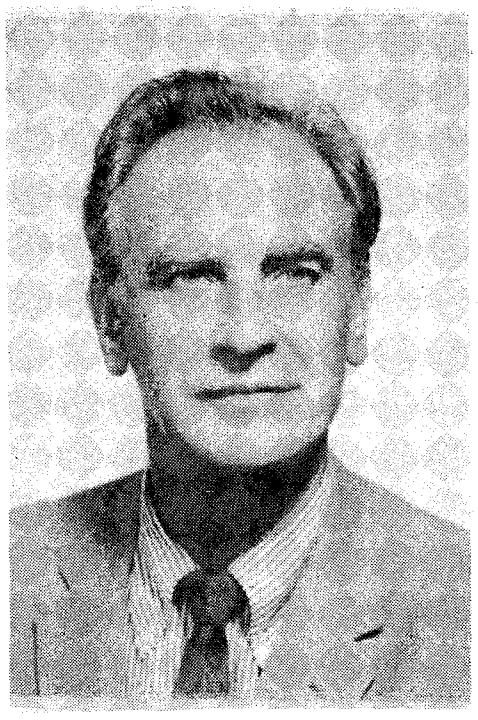
Thirty-two members of the Revolutionary Movement of October 8 were captured, including a Paraguayan who had received guerrilla training in Cuba. The movement, called "MR-8," was found to be operating on funds provided initially by Cuba and Russia plus money taken in bank robberies by urban terrorists who had been trained in the art in Cuba.

On August 4 Bolivia's morning paper, *El Diario,* quoted a captured guerrilla to the effect that former Vice President Juan Lechín (a far-leftist) was recruiting guerrilla candidates for training in Cuba. The guerrillas, identified as Félix Melgar Antelo, had been enlisted by Lechín, trained in Cuba and then returned to a ready-made organization of subversion set up in his absence. He stated that Cuba is now elaborately equipped to support guerrilla subversives—with false passports, disguises, money and sophisticated equipment of all sort.

Soviet-Cuban coordination in spreading guerrilla wars, urban terrorism and the like was exposed only recently by a Castro defector, Orlando Castro Hidalgo. He revealed that Cuban intelligence is under the absolute control of the Soviet Union, and said that as a member of that service in Paris he supplied Latin American revolutionaries and guerrilla leaders with money, passports and hideouts.

Castro Hidalgo also stated that the myth that Castro is easing up on his export of guerrilla wars is nonsense;

Continued on page 10



Mr. Bethel, for many years with the U.S. Foreign Service, is the author of the newly published book, The Losers **(Arlington House), an account of the Cuban disaster and the spread of communism in Latin America.**

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The Three Don'ts

By MAURICE H. STANS, U.S. Secretary of Commerce

(The following article is excerpted from the text of Mr. Stan's commencement address to the graduating class of Grove City College, Grove City, Pa., in June of this year.)

One of the greatest men of our time, the late President Eisenhower, once told me: "The only virtue that can be presented in a commencement speech is brevity."

So with his admonition in mind, I would like to make a deal with today's graduates of Grove City College. I will talk for just about 15 more minutes, if you will settle back from the takeoff blocks at the edge of your seats into a comfortable position and really listen for that long.

In that time, there are just three things I want to say. They are a distillation of all the advice I could conceivably give you.

- Don't downgrade the future. You can play any part you want in an unbelievably better world.
- Don't sell the American system short. Before you let anyone attack it, ask him to show you something better.
- Don't belittle our competitive society of industry and commerce. It has given us everything we have and it can give us everything we want.

If you will just remember and believe those three short messages, this will be the most successful commencement address ever made.

Because they are contrary to some of the things you read and hear today from the dissatisfied and the radical and the violent, I'm going to tell you now why I hope you will remember these three points.

First, of these three subjects, perhaps it is most difficult for you and me to see the future in the same perspective. You have more of it ahead of you than I, but I have seen more of the past than you.

Your vision today may be sharply honed by the imperfections of our time, but mine is enriched by the knowledge that the world does indeed get better with time. It always has, through history.

We all know that a virus has been spreading across our land and even throughout the world in recent years—the virus of pessimism.

Those afflicted with it see everything as being wrong, and nothing as being right. They call for change and even revolution. They would sweep aside knowledge and order and decency. They would destroy, they say, in order to rebuild.

There are some things they don't say, as they loose riot and violence through the streets of our cities and across our college campuses.

The fact is that they offer nothing in place of the world we have today.

Instead of improvements, they would create a void. They propose a future going back to the primitive past—a political vacuum, economic destruction and social chaos. The pages of history are strewn with the wreckage of nations where this has happened.

This will not happen here if those of you who have the future seize it with the optimism it deserves.

The next time you hear someone say conditions in the world are bad, ask him just one question: Compared to what? Compared to 60 years ago, when I was born? Compared to the world of a hundred years ago? Compared to the Dark Ages of the past?

More progress already has been made in my lifetime than in all of mankind's history before us, but we have seen only the beginning of the possible.

For a thousand years and more, men have worked and died to evolve the base that you have today just as a starting point. Every challenge that lies ahead of us now has been distilled out of challenges that once were a thousand times greater than those facing us today. Every opportunity within our grasp is infinitely greater than most men could have

Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans has some timely advice for those youthful activists who want to "change things."

dreamed of even at the start of my lifetime.

Never before has so much human fulfillment been possible. On every side of us there is a burgeoning awareness of the humanities and a concern for our fellow human beings.

Incredible worlds of scientific achievement have only begun to be discovered. And the economic abundance which most of us already have now is coming within the reach of us all.

With remarkable determination and unimaginable speed, this nation is tearing down the walls which once imprisoned men and their opportunities in the ghettos of ignorance and poverty.

With remarkable success, we are giving ever-greater life to the American system which rewards initiative, inventiveness, vision and imagination.

In such a country and in such a time, the future is limited only by the horizon each man creates for himself. However quaint it may sound in these days of the 20th Century, opportunity is unlimited. For the young the formula is as plain and simple as it always has been: fix a goal . . . aim high . . . set out to achieve it . . . and you will!

Let me state my first point again: Don't downgrade the future. You can play any part you want in an unbelievably better world.

And now a few words about the American system.

In its broadest definition, this system by which we live is woven from three principal strands—political democracy, a free private economy, and universal opportunity.

Those changes which are now taking place in our way of life—those improvements which are now taking place in our nation—are the natural evolutions of this system.

It has always been and it is now amenable to its own improvement. For two centuries this system has assured the United States of growth and greatness, far beyond any country.

By whatever yardstick may be used to measure it against any in the world, it has proved far superior to any other way of life contrived or devised by man at any time in human history.

Ask any critic of our society for a better workable system, and his answer can only be the silence of admission or irresponsible demagoguery.

These cynics have brought political democracy and our private economy under attack, in one way or another. If we are not fully committed to the preservation of these elements of our society, we will be encouraging for ourselves the fate of other nations that have slipped into intolerance, despotism and decay.

The fact is that our system succeeds because it is based on fundamental human instincts. It is predicated on the basic human urges—to compete and to acquire—and as long as we permit the free, orderly exercise of those instincts nothing will ever surpass it.

There is only one significant competing system in the world today, and it cannot begin to match us. Our standard of living is incredibly higher. Our freedom of thought is infinitely greater. Our spiritual strength is unshackled. We reach to the moon ready to share our discoveries with the world, we are committed to serve and protect the less fortunate, and we live with a personal freedom of movement undreamed of by the rest of mankind.

The firebrands light their torches, and they try to make us believe our country and our system are sick. America has imperfections, yes—but the mainstream you enter today is robust, and this land through which it flows is healthy.

We know we are far from perfect. It is because we are beneficiaries of the best system ever devised that we are more aware of our internal imperfections than any other people at any other time. Imbedded in our national conscience there is a deep desire to right the wrongs—to correct the inequities—to make the whole system work better.

Let us address ourselves to those problems—but in the process let's not destroy the system from which our strength flows.

Again, I'll quote my second point: Don't sell the American system short. Before you let anyone attack it, ask him to show you something better.

And now I am at the last item I want to discuss.

One of the keystones of our incredible success as a nation is our competitive free enterprise system. The backbone of that system is the American business community.

I suggest to you that here you may find your greatest surprise and your greatest satisfaction. Recently a Gallup poll showed that only 6 per cent of today's college students expected to go into business or management. Yet American business today is on the threshold of a new age of growth and service, and in honesty it can reach out to the bright young men and women of our time and invite them to participate.

If the goal of our times is a better world, our system of industry and commerce will build it. If the goal we seek is comfort and security for all people, in a condition of mutual friendship and respect, free competition, with its own rewards to the able, will set the pace for progress and prosperity.

The great comforts and facilities that surround us today are the products of American enterprise. More important, the highest aspiration of people throughout the world is to achieve the standard of living that we have from the superior productivity capability of the competitive American system.

Putting aside all considerations of money, politics and ideology—reducing our judgment to the simplest common denominator—we can see the evidence of what this system means:

To buy a comparable suit of clothes in Soviet Russia takes 183 hours of work. In France it takes 75 hours; in Great Britain 40 hours; and in the United States only 24 hours of work is needed for the same item.

Or if you prefer to judge by another standard, in the United States one worker on a farm now produces enough to feed 42 people. In France, one worker can feed only approximately six. The figure is about five in Italy, and it is one farm worker for only one other person in China.

These are not boastful figures. They are simple illustrations that what we have works better than what anyone else has. They show that our way delivers more for mankind than that of any other country.

Putting a man on the moon depends on industrial technology; so does providing your clothing, the facilities of this college, the transportation you'll use to go home, the communications with friends, and every object that contributes to your comfort and convenience.

Here again there are imperfections. But these can be dealt with constructively. The nation is armed with antitrust laws and other legal safeguards against abuses in the competitive enterprise system.

Our need today is not nearly so great for new laws as it is for new people who will see in the world of business a full potential for citizenship and service.

American business today is eager to work with the young people of the nation, and to develop constructive change and progress out of your idealism and intellectualism.

Let me assure you that freedom will be kept alive and meaningful as long as young people like you are willing to seize these opportunities that freedom offers, and to make our competitive system work.

So this is my third point of advice to you: Don't belittle our competitive society of industry and commerce. It has given us everything we have and it can give us everything we want.

Some generations before us had to risk death to achieve freedom for America.

Two generations in my time have had to fight to preserve it—for us as a nation and for each of us as an individual.

Your generation, rich in the security of freedom won, has committed itself to the next goal, the perfection of individual liberty.

You demand universal justice. You plead for equality. You curse the darkness of intolerance and dishonesty. And you seek comfort and peace.

Men have sought these goals throughout history—but never with the advantage you have today. You are strong materially. You are secure in our system of law. You have a workable society.

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The Untouchables

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I've never felt I needed psychoanalysis, but have had ever so many diagnoses for free. Thirty years ago a Hollywood Red analyzed my anti-Communist stand thus: "The trouble with you, Ryskind, is that you're a 19th Century liberal."

I think that basically true, though I find it no trouble at all. And in today's mail a five-page note, signed "Avant-Garde," examines my writings and concludes my distress at certain current trends stems from my being anti-intellectual and obsessed by a "bourgeois morality."

That, too, may have some truth in it. Certainly it wasn't the bourgeoise, but intellectuals like Aldous Huxley and Dr. Leary who praised the use of hallucinogenic drugs. And it is our avant-garde that writes all those plays, films and novels in which the bathroom and the bedroom are the only two rooms in the house, with all that goes on therein detailed as minutely as though written by an untalented Marcel Proust. As Pat Buttram put it when asked if he liked mini-skirts, "Well, they rest my imagination."

Onetime civil rights "moderate" Whitney Young has nonetheless made some extreme statements on the subject of ghetto rioting.

The ultimate has just been attained by that new sex novel, deliberately written as smuttily and badly as possible by 26 authors as a hoax, which actually became a best-seller. That tells better than anything else the state of grace we've arrived at.

So, all in all, I'll take the bourgeoise, instead of the "beautiful people" of the jet set and Haight-Ashbury.

In the bourgeois world, the tradesmen we deal with are usually honest—if only because it's good business. But if a guaranteed mink proves to be part rabbit, we have recourse to the law and the exposure will often drive the sharper out of business.

But when the city slickers of the intellectual world offer their wares—*caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware). For the laws against phony labeling do not apply to the false prophets of the Liberal Mafia. They are untouchable.

No matter how often their merchandise proves shoddy, they suffer no loss of prestige. They remain sacrosanct, and may say and do things forbidden to the rest of us. And any criticism of them is regarded by the faithful as lese majesty.

I offer a case in point. This week—it's the second time this month—a young Los Angeles policeman was slain by a gunman. Attempting to break up a gang fight, he chased one hoodlum—whereupon another grabbed the officer's revolver and shot him dead.

Now the L.A. police have a distinguished record—indeed, it is undisputed that they are among the finest of the "finest," and we are proud of them. So I was especially delighted early this year when invited to attend the graduation exercises of a new class.

They were a splendid-looking lot, obviously dedicated to the career they had chosen. They were of different colors and origins—but they were all Americans, and their esprit de corps shone in their very bearing.

I thought of them the other evening as I sorrowfully read the story of the funeral services for the slain young peace officer. After which I tuned in on Chet Huntley.

He reported that Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League, who is classed as a "moderate" in today's strange lexicon, had addressed some welfare recipients in Detroit and advised them against rioting.

"Because," said Young, "if there's anything that disappointed white enforcement officials this summer, it is that we didn't have riots. They were just waiting to mow us down."

I thought of that dead policeman—and his widow—and was sick. I felt—and feel—that I had never heard a more viciously racist slur against as gallant a group of Americans as we have. And it came not from a Black Panther, but from the "respectable" Whitney Young.

Think what the liberal editorialists and cartoonists would have done had a white officer made a similar statement about blacks! But the Mafia protects its own, and Young is "untouchable."

But I think it the duty of the rest of us to denounce that Hitlerian canard for the Big Lie that it is. And I mean from the President down.

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Continued from page 8

U.S. Pull-Back in Latin America?

to the contrary, it is proceeding with greater finesse under Soviet supervision (explaining, in part at least, the Soviet interest in creating a united guerrilla front in Latin America).

On July 11 Argentina's prestigious paper, *La Prensa,* published a detailed plan for the Communist conquest of eight countries—Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Colombia. Citing intelligence reports from Uruguay, Argentina and Peru, *La Prensa* revealed that the plot had been approved "by a central revolutionary committee of Castro-Maoist Communists" which met in Montevideo, Uruguay, last June to follow up the guerrilla conference held six months earlier in Colombia.

The plan contains a combination of sophisticated subversion and military action. It is worth reproducing in condensed form:

"Universities: Catholic Universities will be the true motor of actions planned and carried out in the streets. The demand: 'Change the universities; change the political structure of the nation!'

"The Church: It is now publicly recognized to be revolutionary and reformist. . . .It must be made to declare, from the pulpit and every other suitable place, this new orientation for the masses. To support this goal, we must have 1,500 active clergymen to convert the Church into the major base for the revolutionary movement of the left. The slogan: 'Each hour a disturbance, on each street corner a riot!'

"Workers: Make demands for privileges and wages that will shake the capitalist regime. Government of the workers and the overthrow of the system of government by politicians and militarists!'

"Professors and Teachers: Professors must be surrounded and made to work in harmony with the priests.

"Campesinos: It is a proven fact that these are the most difficult to incorporate into our movement. They must, therefore, be directed by local priests in the interior of the country and made to occupy the land."

It is perhaps necessary to add that *La Prensa* is no stooge of President Juan Carlos Onganía; Publisher Gainza Paz established his integrity long ago when he steadfastly opposed Juan Perón and was sent into exile for years.

In any event, Communist (and specifically, Soviet) complicity in guerrilla wars and the advancement of continental subversion on a well-organized basis is so obvious as to be ostentatious—making hash out of the incredible therories proffered by the Bronstein-Lodge-Dungan trio.

Indeed, in many Latin countries only the police and military establishment stand against Soviet intrigue and the formidable array of cold-and-hot-war weaponry the Communists employ. Thus, Venezuela's defense minister, Martin Garcia Villamil, acknowledged the importance of U.S. aid when he declared on August 12 that Communist subversion was on the march in Latin American countries and that "the technical advice of U.S. military missions is useful to the armed forces of our country."

Opposing the Church-Lodge-Dungan-Bronheim assault on both common sense and the U.S. military is the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. In recent hearings Gen. George R. Mather pointed out defense costs of 15 Latin American nations averaged only 10.9 per cent of national budgets last year—less than 2 per cent of their gross national product. What is more, the money going to the military is to replace antiquated equipment, some of it dating back to pre-World War II days. Little or no expansion is being made in military forces, though such expansion would seem to be badly needed at this point.

Many Washington officials are concerned over the testimony given to the Church subcommittee by Messrs. Dungan, Bronheim and Lodge. For example, Mr. Bronheim was a key member of Gov. Rockefeller's recent mission to Latin America on behalf of President Nixon. If the report—which was submitted by the governor last week, but not made public—contains the prejudices and unsupported theories as expressed by Mr. Bronheim before the Senate, then the credibility of the whole report will be very much open to question.

Those liberals who constantly deplore the shrinking image of the United States in the eyes of Latins, and allege that it stems from unwarranted U.S. support to Latin American military dictators, had better take a long look at the display of intellectual dishonesty, ignorance or just plain naivete as it appeared in the Senate.

There are many points on which one can agree with Mr. Bronheim, as, for example, "the leading mythology which claims that the very poor and oppressed are an explosive element and that by improving their lives they will be less explosive." But all that Mr. Bronheim has done is to substitute his own mythology that communism is no driving force in Latin America and that the best way to handle problems there is to cut off military aid.

This slack-jawed, lazy-minded view is aptly described in the editorial appearing in the July 6 edition of *O Estado do Brasil:* "To hold that the armed forces are a factor of instability [referring to Mr. Dungan's testimony] is similar to arguing that communism is a force compatible with the exercise of democracy. And that, in resume, is what those who testified before the U.S. Senate wanted to prove."

The editorial concludes: "It remains only to say that if the characterization as 'doves' and 'hawks' is apt for the two currents of thought on American policy, the personalities we mention in this commentary [Dungan, Bronheim, Lodge] in all justice deserve to be included in a category that is not at all novel: that of ostriches."

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Trying to do right voluntarily

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Kissinger Said to Want Softer Stand on Cuba

By PAUL SCOTT

Henry Kissinger, the controversial White House national security adviser, is apparently convinced that President Nixon has no intentions of carrying out his campaign promise to adopt a hard-line policy toward Communist Cuba.

Although the President pledged to tighten the U.S. economic-political quarantine of Cuba if elected, Kissinger is working quietly within the Nixon Administration for just the opposite.

The President's chief foreign policy adviser has asked the Rand Corporation, a private study organization, to make a report on the feasibility of restoring political, economic and cultural relations with Castro's Cuba.

By requesting such a study for the National Security Council, the government's highest policy-making body, Kissinger set the tone for the Cuban policy review now under way within the Administration.

Military and intelligence authorities, who favor a tougher American policy toward Castro, say the wording of the Cuban policy study requested clearly indicates the type of change Kissinger is seeking.

"If Kissinger wanted a policy to back up the President's campaign pledge, he wouldn't have asked for that type of study," stated one high-ranking Defense Department official. "His request would have been for a joint State-Defense review on how the quarantine could be strengthened."

Acting as the President's chief foreign policy adviser, Kissinger has barred all other agencies of the government from asking for Cuban policy studies without his advance approval.

This veto power gives Kissinger tight control over what Cuban policy papers are to be presented to the National Security Council for President Nixon's consideration.

For example, Kissinger has encouraged persons working on Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's Latin American report to press the view that the U.S. should offer Cuba normal relations with trade. He also had a major role in getting the National Council of Churches recently to call for the U.S. to drop its quarantine of Cuba and re-establish diplomatic relations.

Only strong objections from Passport Director Frances Knight have blocked a move by Kissinger and a small group within the State Department to do away with restrictions on travel from the U.S. to Cuba.

During the 1968 presidential campaign Nixon called for increased economic, political and diplomatic pressure on Castro to force him to abandon his policy of exporting Communist revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere.

"Cuba is not just a bankrupt Communist regime," Nixon reported in a major Latin American policy speech. "It has become the center for external aggression and the export of revolution to the Western Hemisphere under Castro's direct guidance. It operates with an ambitious strategy to create widespread insurrection and wage guerrilla warfare against the nations of Central and South America."

Nixon pledged that his Administration would listen to and work with Latin American leaders "who recognize the danger and are confronted with aggression and terror and who seek American partnership in forging common economic, political and diplomatic programs to deal with it."

Vice President Spiro Agnew earlier this year tried to carry out Nixon's campaign pledge by privately meeting with several members of the Organization of American States to urge their support in tightening the economic quarantine of Cuba.

The vice president got nowhere. OAS members were reluctant to make any commitment after Kissinger had passed the word that President Nixon's policy toward Cuba was still in the formation stage.

Kissinger's Cuban policy review comes at a time when Castro agents at the United Nations are trying to recruit Cuban refugees and black militants to organize a pro-Castro underground in the U.S.

A recent defector from the Black Panthers told the FBI that Cuban diplomats at the U.N. had offered large sums of money to members of his group to buy arms for warfare in American cities.

There is also growing evidence that Castro has agreed to give Russia naval base rights in Cuba in exchange for new Soviet economic aid for his country's bankrupt economy. The aid includes a Soviet Union agreement to purchase half of Cuba's 1970 sugar harvest, targeted for 10 million tons.

To help in the coming harvest, Castro already has begun recruiting an international cane cutters army which includes hundreds of far-left students from American colleges.

The proposed lifting of U.S.passport restrictions and easing of the economic-political quarantine of Cuba would be a big help to Castro and his anti-U.S. activities, according to U.S. intelligence authorities.

Why Kissinger, who has full access to all CIA and FBI reports on Castro's ominous activities, favors policy changes that would help the Cuban dictator is one of the big foreign policy mysteries of the Nixon Administration.

In sharp contrast to encouraging the "kid glove" approach toward Cuba, Kissinger is urging the President to take a hard line against Brazil, a longtime ally of the U.S.

As a starter, Kissinger has asked the Rand Corporation to make a study determining the circumstances under which the government of Brazil might be overthrown if it decides to expropriate American property in that country.

The study request was made by Kissinger without discussing the matter with other members of the President's Cabinet, including Defense Secretary Melvin Laird. It reputedly was triggered by an intelligence report that the question of expropriation of several American companies in Brazil had been discussed within the military government there, after Peru took over International Petroleum Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

To the embarrassment of Defense Secretary Laird, the studies on Cuba and Brazil ordered by Kissinger are being paid for from funds of a Defense Department agency. Kissinger made the arrangements without prior approval of Laird.

The unanswered question is whether Secretary Laird will challenge Kissinger with proposals of his own on Cuba and Brazil to the President. His aides are urging him to do so.

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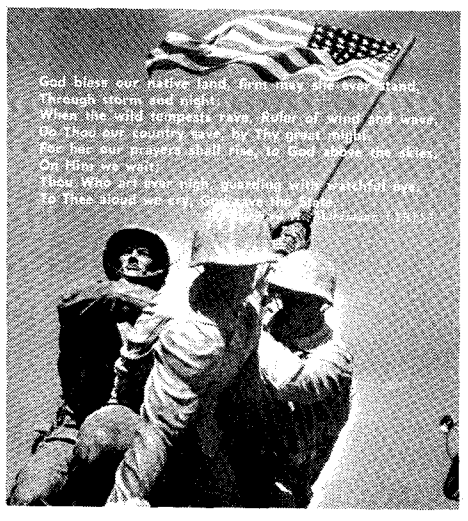
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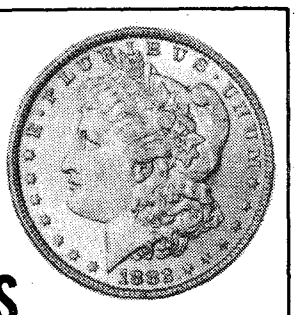

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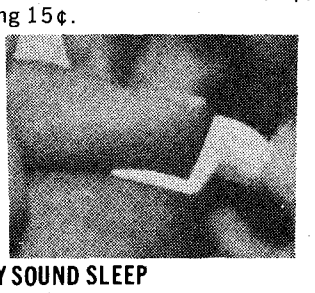

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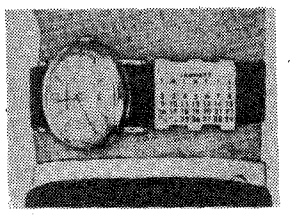

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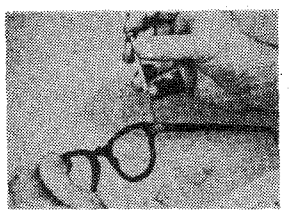

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Materialism Over Principle

From Norway to Sicily, Europeans Try to Forget Politics

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Paris:—Now that the Americans are leaving and the Europeans have mostly returned from their annual summer sleep on the beaches or in the mountains (this year 13 million out of 53 million Italians got to one or the other, most of them at the same time), all the problems that have more or less dogged our Western allies since the end of World War II are bobbing up virtually unchanged.

One of these is common to all Free Europe: how to put a brake on insatiable trade unions spurred on by Communists; on tradesmen and peasants indifferent to any but their own immediate gains; and on sophisticated capitalists in whose minds their own money comes first?

But in other respects West Europe's difficulties vary somewhat from country to country.

Financially ailing Britain still faces the apathy of workers and bosses both committed to excessive leisure and respectively to wildcat strikes and excessive weekends (not to speak of the near civil war in Ulster and the government's frustrated attempt to end apartheid in Rhodesia). And as a result many believe that further currency trouble in France will almost surely have repercussions on the ailing pound sterling.

France's economic problems resulting from the student-workers' rioting and blackmail of 1968 are too obvious to need comment.

In Italy, where I recently spent several weeks, the immediate problem is not a Communist or a "colonel's" revolution (in which few Italians believe) but the traditional inability of the people to elect politicians who will govern the country both democratically and effectively.

The summer's Cabinet crisis (weeks of endless argument, dickering and intrigue) has resulted in no substantial change. It had next to no echo among the citizens, most of whom seem to have ceased to expect anything but occasional personal favors from the ruling politicians with their numerous parties, groups or grouplets.

The actual issue is the naive desire of the left-wing Christian Democrats and Social Democrats to bring the Communists into a Popular Front government, the result of which, if one can judge by similar experiments elsewhere, would be a Red take-over. Yet hardly a newspaper, among the endless columns which were devoted to daily political maneuvering, mentioned what was really at stake. Only recently the disappointed Communists publicly proclaimed their desire to work with the other parties "for democracy."

Edgar Ansel Mowrer has been an observer of the European scene since World War I.

Here, rather than in the possibility of a Left or a Right *Putsch,* lies Italy's chief danger. To meet it properly calls for the skill and character of the late de Gasperi. But where is there such?

Even West Germany, economically the strongest and socially the steadiest unit in West Europe, faces a September election in which a combination of Social Democrats (mostly labor) and Free Democrats (Big Business itching for more foreign trade) will seem to achieve a majority to replace the Adenauer-Kiesinger policy of "reunification first" with further soupy attempts at bridge-building to Germany's sworn enemies!

Naturally, therefore, the European Economic Community remains stagnant and it will take more than the retirement of Charles de Gaulle to start it moving toward that political unity essential to Europe's desire to catch up scientifically, industrially and organizationally with the United States.

This at least is how the picture appears to most observers.

In fact, there is another and complicating obstacle to European unity. Our allies are interpreting current world events as a new excuse for doing little or nothing to oppose the Soviet policy of combining the break-up of NATO with a revival of ideological and political imperialism—the Brezhnev Doctrine of limited sovereignty and the drive for the Middle East.

After the (to them) surprising Soviet rape of Czechoslovakia a year ago, the United States could have persuaded the Europeans to move toward greater Atlantic solidarity. Our failure to do so and Nixon's subsequent footsie with Moscow greatly disturbed the more perceptive among the West European peoples.

Now, however, further resistance to Moscow by the Czechoslovaks, the independent attitude of Red Rumania and the enthusiasm with which the Rumanians welcomed the American President, and—most important—what their newspapers proclaim as the "imminent war" between Red Russia and Red China—these have permitted the West Europeans to slump back into the dream that politically they have nothing to fear from the East. From Norway to Sicily the majority are seeking to forget politics, foreign as well as domestic, and concentrate on further improving their personal situation.

This, I submit, is not a reassuring attitude on the part of once proud peoples who, for a couple of centuries before World War I, largely made world history. But there it is.

★ ★ ★

Why this change? Why do Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans and Italians believe that they can, following the policy of the late Samuel Gompers of the AFL, safely concentrate on the one word, "More"?

True, as the French say, "appetite comes with eating." Certainly, the magnificent economic advances of the West

Europe, once war-torn and starving, now enjoys prosperity. But that continent's well-being is threatened by an inward-turning preoccupation with local affairs at the expense of an appreciation of global realities. Above, a well-stocked store in Frankfurt, Germany.

European peoples since 1945, far from satisfying them, have strengthened their belief that they can demand more for less—shorter hours and limited output per person with ever higher wages, without dangerous inflation. Asked to explain this paradox, they wave their hands and answer that "socialism and modern techniques will do the trick."

Such is the attitude, not only of Europe's merchants, hotel keepers, labor leaders, TV repairmen and farmers, but of industrialists, legislators, college professors, physicians and nurses as well. (What has happened to the spirit of Florence Nightingale?)

And, of course, there are logical reasons for the eclipse of that sense of national power which, contrary to the notions of Marx and Freud, lies as deeply in human nature as greed and sex.

One such is that many West Europeans have accepted the American belief that effective military power has become synonymous with the possession of nuclear missiles and chemical weapons. Hence only the United States and the Soviet Union can fully practice great power politics. (Concerning the effectiveness of the kind of nuclear armament of "deterrent size" possessed by Britain and sought by France and Red China, opinions differ.)

So much would be obvious were the two greats ready to use either nuclear or chemical weapons. Yet in view of America's reluctance to do what is necessary to clear the Reds out of South Viet Nam, and of China's apparent faith that it can defy the USSR without nuclear obliteration, the two-power monopoly theory may be questionable.

Yet it is natural that countries like Britain, France and Germany, which once starred on the world stage, should prefer withdrawal from the cast to accepting the role of walk-ons.

Less comprehensible (to me, at least) is the fact that, facing the truism that 300 million united West Europeans could in time create a nuclear armament equal to that of the Soviet Union, political leaders in London, Paris and even Bonn simply shrug their shoulders. The majority of their citizens, they insist, would prefer a second car and a longer summer vacation to the sacrifices which transforming united Europe into a third world power would entail.

Such explanations have validity. So too, has the thesis that nuclear and chemical weapons have made major war, if not obsolete, at least obsolescent and that each country should act accordingly. Yet the same Europeans reluctantly admit, for the most part, that they see little or no chance of any renunciation of these weapons by the United States, and still less by the Soviet Union. How then maintain that social injustice is man's major remaining enemy?

For if this were true, why should events in America and Japan as well as in Western Europe be so clearly demonstrating the bankruptcy of Marx (economic determinism) and Rousseau (natural goodness)? How explain that on both sides of the Atlantic rising living standards have brought, not greater happiness, internal peace and cooperative order, but discontent, crime, violence and commercialized pornography? Is it an accident that modern literary "leaders" have apotheosized the Marquis de Sade and his modern imitators?

How explain the widespread student revolt directed against what exists in each particular country (in America and Europe against the "capitalist establishment," in Communist countries against totalitarian tyranny, and in Japan against "war-mongering" Westerners and their Japanese accomplices)?

In the absence of convincing replies from philosophers, psychologists and sociologists, this question obviously lies beyond the competence of a newsman, however internationally experienced. Nonetheless, I shall hazard a guess: both the craze for "more," and its failure to bring greater happiness seem to suggest that not only we Westerners but man himself, this moon-chasing, belligerent, loving, eternally questioning, two-legged mammal, must have something beyond leisure and a full stomach if he is not to be unhappy. Could it be, as Goethe insisted that (only) "all ages of faith have been great"?

Modern Europe as well as America seem to provide evidence in this direction.

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Protecting the Workers

Four-Point Agenda for a Free Labor Union Movement

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Labor Day was originally brought into being by dedicated labor leaders for the benefit of the rank and file. That was in the long ago, when there was some identity of interest between leaders and followers. Today the shoe is often on the other foot: the followers need protection against their bosses on many sectors of the workers' front.

1. There is first the question of tax reform. The AFL-CIO Executive Council, in a "Memo from COPE" (Committee on Political Education), has hailed the recent House-passed measure as "a major step" toward tax justice, but says it doesn't go far enough. The council wants to see the "farm shelter tax escape route" closed, it wants to see fast real estate depreciation write-offs limited to low and moderate income housing, it wants to close the "capital gains loophole," etc.

These demands may have merit, but, coming in a "Memo from COPE," they represent an astounding gall. For, as Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) has said, the $60 million dollars which the AFL-CIO raised last year in the unsuccessful attempt to defeat Richard Nixon came "right out of the union general funds, which are, of course, derived from the dues paid by rank-and-file employes, many of whom are captive 'members' under compulsory unionism arrangements, and who are forced to pay union dues or agency fees as the price of keeping their jobs.

"This is a prime example of infringement of the rights of individual workers. It forces the worker to pay money to support candidates and causes which he opposes, and effectively denies him his constitutionally protected freedom of association . . . and . . . political action."

Tax reform should certainly insist that if corporations, churches and private foundations be shorn of their tax exemption, labor unions that use their members' dues for political action should be deprived of tax exemption, too.

And if churches, charities and colleges are to be taxed on "unrelated business investment," the unions should also be compelled to pay taxes on the $1.5-billion annual income which they now derive from untaxed investment sources. Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), a member of the Senate Finance Committee, has promised to look into the tax-exempt status of union "empires" which have been built on the compulsory dues of the workers and the untaxed union income from "unrelated business investment." [See last week's cover story.]

2. There is the question of restrictions of one sort or another in the building trades. Ever since the Supreme Court ruled that the carpenters' union was justified in its refusal to handle prefabricated doors at the building site, the unions have been boycotting the use of prefabricated materials. The National Labor Relations Board has held it legal for the AFL-CIO plumbers to boycott prefabricated boilers in Minnesota. In Texas the asbestos workers have refused to handle prefabricated insulation material for pipes. In Ohio the carpenters have turned thumbs down on prefabricated laminated beams. In California the NLRB has justified a union policy of limiting the number of shingles a member can lay in a day.

All of this skyrockets the price of homes. But, worse, it keeps this country from getting the housing it needs—and, incidentally, prevents a great many potential building workers from obtaining employment, either on the prefabricated assembly lines or at the job sites for new construction.

Incidentally, if a low-cost prefabricated housing boom could be created, as Secretary for Housing and Urban Development George Romney wants, the unions could open their apprentice ranks to black labor without penalizing white carpenters, plumbers and asbestos workers.

3. There is the business of "coalition bargaining." If the findings of William Chernish, author of *Coalition Bargaining, A Study of Union Tactics and Public Policy*, are true, the practice of letting many local unions engage in joint bargaining with multi-plant, multi-union employers such as General Eelctric or the copper industry makes for longer and costlier strikes and deprives the "local level" of rank-and-file workers of an actual voice. Unions at the local level might wish to sign an agreement long before the "coalition" representatives are willing to accept a bargain.

4. Finally, there is the matter of compulsory unionism. Recently Postmaster General Winton Blount dropped the artless remark that he saw no obstacle to the negotiation of a union-shop contract with federal workers if and when the Post Office is changed into a government-owned corporation. Thus Postmaster General Blount has blithely ignored the Republican promise that the right of federal employes "to join or to refrain from joining" a labor union would be respected. As the saying goes, Blount "should get with it" and stand with his President against compelling people to join unions if they don't want to do so.

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Murphy Makes Mark in Senate

By VICTOR LASKY

A former movie "Song-and-Dance Man" has turned out to be one of the more effective members of the United States Senate.

Republican George Murphy, the senior senator from California, has worked hard at his job of representing the largest state in the Union. And he is doing quite well in the polls which are pitting him against potential Democratic rivals in his re-election campaign next year.

Despite recurring rumors that he may decide to take an ambassadorship rather than to run again, George Murphy is definitely in the race. His health is excellent. He is spending more and more time in his state. And, as another indication of his decision, he is also working hard on his memoirs, hoping to get them published by next spring.

Where Sen. Murphy has a decided advantage over potential rivals is his close relationship with the President of the United States. Richard Nixon and George Murphy have been close friends for two decades. It is sometimes forgotten, but even when Murphy was prominent in show business he played a major role in Republican politics, both state and national.

His friendship with Mr. Nixon has repeatedly been demonstrated by the numerous times the senator has shown up at the President's side during the White House hiatus in California. Widely publicized was the fact that Murphy was given 10 tickets to the state dinner honoring America's moon men while California's Democratic senator, Alan Cranston, obtained none.

Even more important is the role played by George Murphy as a member of the President's Environmental Quality Council. Murphy's membership is particularly important because this blue-ribbon panel, composed of the best brains available to Mr. Nixon, deals with such problems as that of the smog which is a particular concern in southern California.

A photograph of a recent council meeting, widely published in California, shows Sen. Murphy seated near the President as the council determined to spur competition in the automobile industry to produce a low-pollution vehicle by the 1990s.

It is no secret that Sen. Murphy is pressing for even more action on the smog problem. And he is being listened to by the President.

Since his surprise election in 1964—he countered the Johnson landslide and a formidable opponent in Pierre Salinger—George Murphy has become a major figure in the U.S. Senate. True, his role is rarely publiziced in the liberal-oriented press, but the fact is he is admired by most of his colleagues, regardless of party, and is a member of the powerful Senate club which unofficially decides the way things are to go in the major body.

Says one Eastern liberal Republican senator:

"I don't always agree with George, but he's a man of his word. If I were living in California, I would have to vote for him."

Which is pretty good going for a guy who once tap danced with little Shirley Temple.

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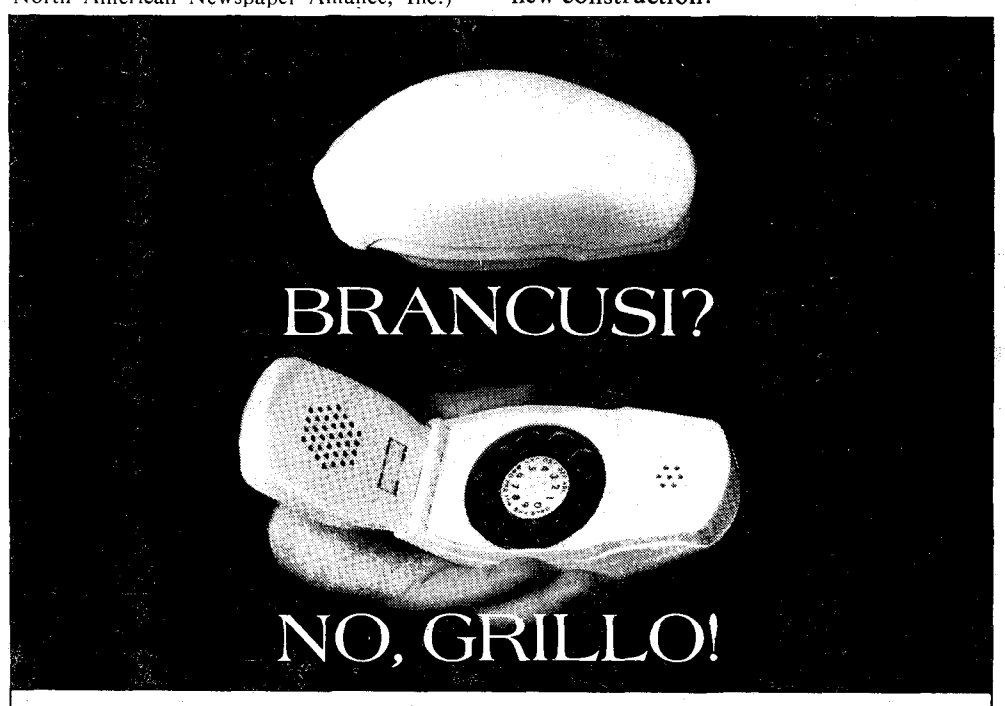

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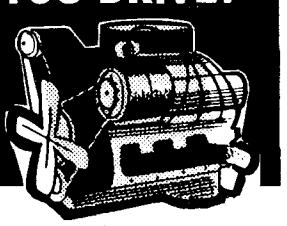

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The Economics of Milton Friedman

By HENRY HAZLITT in *The Freeman*

In the last five or 10 years no American economist's reputation has risen more than Milton Friedman's. There are solid reasons for this. He is a man of amazingly wide awareness, at home both in the academic and journalistic fields. He is an acute theoretician, a skilled statistician, an expert mathematician, and a formidable controversialist. His thought is penetrating and precise. And his style is clear, lively and epigrammatic.

Those of us who have known or read him over the last 20 years admire him as a brilliant expositor and champion of the workings of a free market, and as a devastating critic of price, wage and exchange controls. His essay on "What Price Guideposts?" in *Dollars and Deficits* is an excellent example of this.

'Dollars and Deficits'
By Milton Friedman
Prentice-Hall, 1968
279 pages, $6.95

But in the last three or four years he is most often referred to because of his championship of the quantity theory of money. In fact, so thoroughly saturated in the Keynesian ideology have both the academic and journalistic worlds become in the last 30 years, and so ignorant of the past, that Friedman's quantity theory of money is often referred to as if it were some startling new doctrine that he had personally originated.

Friedman himself makes no such claim. "The emphasis I have just been placing on the stock of money," he even wrote in 1963, "is widely regarded as old-fashioned and out of date." And in his Preface to the essays gathered in his latest book, *The Optimum Quantity of Money*, he writes: "The quantity theory of money, once relegated to courses on the history of thought as an outmoded doctrine, has re-emerged as a part of the living body of economic theory."

A large part of the credit for that re-emergence belongs to Prof. Friedman himself. A big step forward in this was the monumental *Monetary History of the United States* that he wrote with Anna J. Schwartz in 1963. Friedman's special contribution has been to point out, with impressive documentation, how much more accurately changes in the stock of money have predicted the short-term course of the economy than the Keynesian emphasis on fiscal policy or on the relation between investment, government spending and income.

There is nothing original, either, in Friedman's insistence that "inflation is always and everywhere a monetary phenomenon, resulting from and accompanied by a rise in the quantity of money relative to output." "Orthodox" economists have been shouting this for years. But Friedman has got more people, including former academic Keynesians, to listen.

He has also got more people to listen to the misgivings that some of us have been expressing for many years, not only regarding the wisdom of the managers of the Federal Reserve System, but the wisdom of having a Federal Reserve System at all.

Friedman's own objections are based on his opinion, which other libertarians ought to share, that monetary policy should be based on strict, objective, invariable rules rather than on the unpredictable discretion or, as he puts it, on "the day-by-day whim of political authorities."

He holds that, in the first place, the concept of a central bank as an independent branch of government is not reconcilable with the concept of political democracy. He points to the mistaken goals that the Federal Reserve authorities have followed and to the costly errors they have made again and again since the Federal Reserve System was established in 1913.

I do not recall that Friedman has gone so far as to say, as some of us would, that practically every central bank, including the Federal Reserve System, has served primarily as an inflation factory. But he has repeatedly pointed out that "central banks are a necessary—and today almost a sufficient—condition for a balance-of-payments problem."

It is when we get a little beyond this point that some of us must part company with Milton Friedman—on both economic and political grounds. He advocates an irredeemable paper currency. He would do away altogether with the gold standard and the requirement of the convertibility of the currency unit into a fixed amount of gold.

His argument here seems to me clearly untenable. "The fundamental defect of a commodity standard," he writes, "from the point of view of the society as a whole, is that it requires the use of real resources to add to the stock of money. People must work hard to dig something out of the ground," etc.

'The Optimum Quantity of Money'
By Milton Friedman
Aldine Publishing, 1969
384 pages, $10.95

Now so far from this being the fundamental defect of a gold standard, I should call it its fundamental virtue. The vice of a paper money is that it is subject to the day-by-day whim of the politicians in power. They can run off on the printing press any amount they see fit. They can depreciate everybody's money-savings, or even make them worthless.

But the value of a commodity currency, that has to be discovered and dug and processed and refined, is not dependent on political whim. Gold money retains its value precisely because it costs something to produce, and its supply cannot be arbitrarily increased simply by turning a printing press.

It is absolutely necessary to make the increase in the quantity of money independent of political wishes. The cost of production of the monetary metal is the unavoidable price paid for the preservation of a sound monetary system.

And it happens today to be a ridiculously low price. The total world gold production is less than $1.5 billion a year. The total national income of the United States alone is some $750 billion a year. The total income of the other sixteen-seventeenths of the world's population must be at least equal to this. This means that gold production today costs the world less than one-tenth of 1 per cent—less than one-thousandth—of its total annual productive output. An absurdly cheap rate for monetary insurance.

For this Milton Friedman would substitute the following type of paper money system: "My choice at the moment would be a legislated rule instructing the monetary authority to achieve a specified rate of growth in the stock of money" rising "month by month . . . at an annual rate [(somewhere)] between 3 and 5 [(per cent)]." (*Dollars and Deficits*, p. 193.)

Friedman has several times changed his mind about this figure. The above was originally written in 1962. In his new book, *The Optimum Quantity of Money*, he candidly admits that as a result of further study he would now prefer a monetary increase of only 2 per cent a year instead of his previous advocacy of 4 or 5 per cent a year.

Perhaps this is a good place to remind him that during the past century gold production has increased at an average rate of about 2.5 per cent a year, compounded annually, which is amazingly close to his own latest estimate of the ideal annual rate of increase of the monetary stock.

Friedman's personal vacillation is, of course, not a major argument against the monetary formula he proposes. But it does serve to remind us that there is no objective way of determining what the quantity of money, or the annual increase in the quantity of money, ought to be. This must remain a value judgment.

Whatever the growth formula adopted, some people will be relatively helped by it and others will be relatively hurt by it. If the money stock is arbitrarily increased by 2 or 5 or X per cent per year, the unavoidable question arises: Who will get the new money in the first instance? Whoever gets it first will benefit at the relative expense of the rest of us.

Thus the issue would inevitably and persistently lead to a political tug-of-war. Even if Friedman could get a 2 per cent monetary increase written into law in the first year, "economic-growth" fanatics, and groups whose money incomes weren't rising as fast as they thought they should, would soon be demanding a legislative change to a 3 per cent annual increase, and others to a 5 or 7 per cent increase, and still others to a "temporary" 10 per cent increase, and so on and on.

Once we explicitly gave the government the power to increase the quantity of money, there would be no practicable way to limit that power. The political Outs would constantly be agitating for a higher rate of increase, and the political Ins would adopt whatever rate of increase they thought most likely to prolong their stay in office.

But Friedman's efforts to find a solution for what has become one of the world's most difficult and controversial economic and political problems are unfailingly thoughtful and stimulating.

Both of the books under review here are mainly collections of essays written over a period spanning nearly two decades. The chief difference is that those in *Dollars and Deficits* are selected as "intelligible to the public at large," and those in *The Optimum Quantity of Money* are more technical and addressed primarily to fellow economists.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Confidence in Nixon

By REP. BOB PRICE (R.-Tex.)

The President has gone on record opposing any cut in our state of military preparedness which would weaken our national defense posture. Realizing the need for a missile defense system, the Administration uncompromisingly put its prestige on the line in favor of the Safeguard system. The narrow approval of Safeguard in the Senate foreshadows its overwhelming endorsement in the House, thus insuring that the President will speak from a position of strength in his attempts to improve East-West relations.

As you can see, the first months of the Nixon Administration have been active ones. A recent Gallup poll found that 65 per cent of the American people approve of the way the President is doing his job. This is also the consensus of a majority of the letters I have received from the Texas Panhandle. The President has worked diligently for this strong measure of approval. By his calm, careful, and well thought-out approach to our national problems, the President has earned the confidence of the American people.

Soviet Perfidy

By REP. SAM STEIGER (R.-Ariz.)

The anniversary of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia should serve as a fitting reminder of the ice cold perfidy of the Soviets. For, if you recall, and it is unfortunate if you do not, the Russian and Czech leaders were holding "talks" to solve the crisis, even at the very moment tanks rumbled through the streets of Prague. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird once said that the invasion of Czechoslovakia meant that arms control "talks" with Russia would have to have a new beginning. That statement indicated that the Administration did not consider itself bound by any previous arrangements. But as time wears on, the President is sure to be pressured for arms control dialogue on the basis that it never hurts to "talk." The Czechs will tell you, quite to the contrary, it can hurt very much.

New NASA Satellite

By REP. BUZ LUKENS (R.-Ohio)

A recent space launch on August 12 that received little publicity promises to yield immediate benefits. NASA launched a space craft that with booms fully extended encompasses the size of a football field. The craft will carry an experiment which may have great impact on air and traffic control in the 1970s. . . .

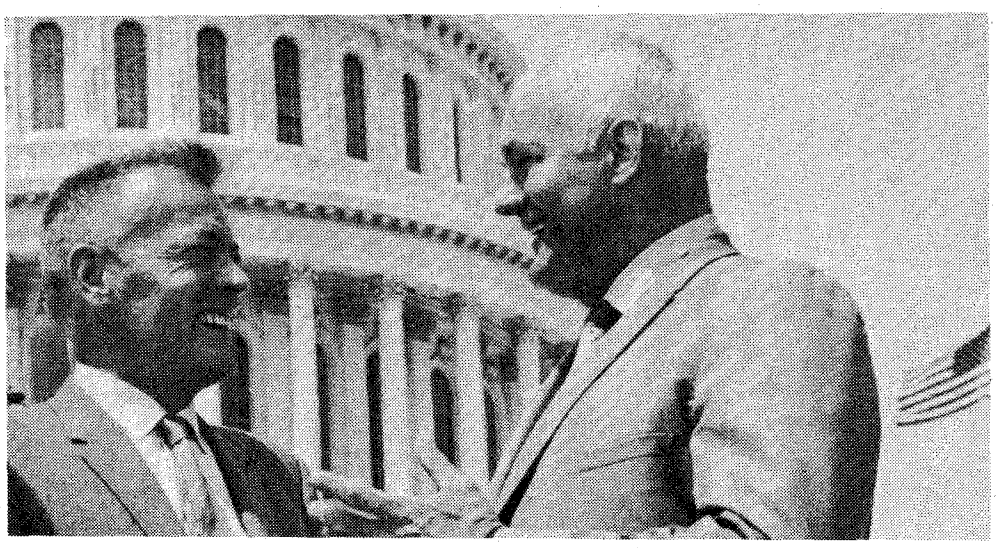
The rapid growth of air, sea and land transportation has been accompanied by acute problems in navigation and traffic control. Satellites have one undisputed and unique advantage over other systems for navigation and traffic control; namely, the satellite is geometrically situated so that it has direct lines-of-sight with vehicles and ground stations over a wide area of the globe.

The principal benefits that would result from such use of satellite navigation and traffic control system are:

- Faster search and rescue at sea.
- Improved traffic flow of aircraft over high-density transoceanic routes.
- Reduction in ship collisions and strandings.
- Savings in operating costs of shipping lines.
- Increased efficiency in commercial fishing.

As a member of the Science and Astronautics Committee I strongly encourage and support earth-oriented satellites. While space exploration is exciting and also promising, there are many pressing domestic problems that space technology can be exploited for human good. This is one.

'Pueblo's' Bucher Visits the Hill



Navy Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher made his first visit to Washington recently after his release from North Korea. Here he chats with Rep. Bill Scherle (R.-Iowa), who was in the forefront of efforts to release Bucher and his 81-man crew of the U.S.S. Pueblo.

Draft Revision

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

Earlier this year I was pleased that the President recommended draft revision legislation which closely paralleled a bill which I introduced last year and reintroduced in January. My bill, and the President's requested legislation alike, would reverse Selective Service policy and take 19-year-olds first. Both would also limit the time of draft vulnerability for each young man to one year, barring national emergency. Under the existing system a man is vulnerable to the draft anytime from age 19 through age 26. I believe such a length of time is unfair to our young men. It prevents them from being able to plan their lives with a high degree of certainty. Both the President's proposal and my bill would allow continued educational deferments. An individual would be placed in his one year of prime vulnerability at the end of his period of deferment. The President's proposal also included a fair system of random selection to choose between the young men in their prime vulnerability year when our nation's military needs are less than the number of men avilable.

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Congress Should Change Law

Why No Peaceful Protests at Soviet Embassy?

By REP. GENE SNYDER (R.-Ky.)

Two weeks ago "SDS" picketed the Russian Embassy. Don't get excited, though, because this "SDS" was "Students Disgusted with Socialism." Unlike the real, pro-Communist, revolutionary Students for a Democratic Society these students were pro-America and concerned with liberty and freedom. This "SDS" consisted of members of Young Americans for Freedom, a consistently patriotic youth group. [Among the protestors were the *Human Events* summer interns; see picture in the August 30 issue, page 15.] They demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy in Washington against the brutal Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia on the anniversary of that terrible day.

During a friendly conference with the Washington, D.C., police, however, the protesting students were told of a regulation passed by Congress over 30 years ago which forbade picketing of any foreign embassy in the United States—within 500 feet of such embassy.

Now, in Russia, all of us will recall, there is no such friendly or respectful rule. There is no reciprocity from the Russians in this regard and the Russian Communists take full advantage of this. For years now the Soviets have allowed organized mobs of Communists to picket the American Embassy in Moscow, disrupt activities, throw stones through the windows and generally be extremely obnoxious.

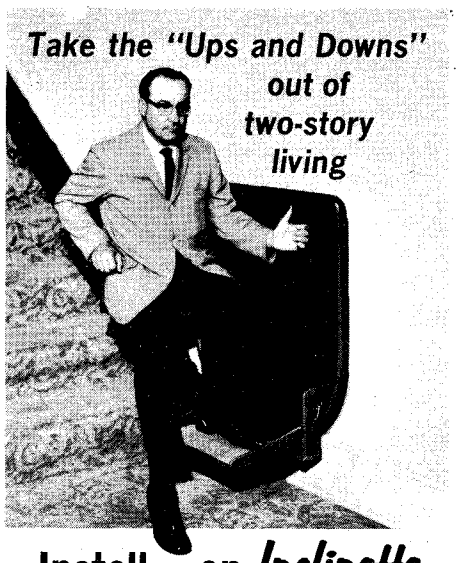
The United States, being a "good guy" about this blatant breach of diplomatic courtesy, has done nothing over the years except to issue frequent "strongly worded" statements of dismay. Of course, the Soviets pay no attention whatsoever to these feeble outcries and continue sending their flunkies to our embassy to embarrass the United States. They do this at the slightest pretense or with the flimsiest excuses.

In this country of freedom, it would first of all seem to me to be wholly consistent with our principles to allow orderly dissent—even directed toward the blood-thirsty Communists.

Second, as long as demonstrations are orderly and peaceful, it would seem to me that our people should have the right—as they do everywhere else in this country—to demonstrate opposition to an imperialistic and oppressive totalitarian regime in Russia.

When the Soviet Union encourages stoning and disruption of our embassy in Moscow, it would seem to me to be the least we could do to allow peaceful expression within 500 feet of their embassy in Washington. As it stands now, if you protest the murderous atrocities of the Communists before their embassy, you have to picket about two blocks away. This is a ridiculous situation and when Congress convenes I would hope that my colleagues would join me in an effort to change it.

[Editor's note: Rep. Snyder's attempt to change the embassy picketing law may find a liberal ally. Speaking before a joint meeting of some seven Czechoslovakian-American organizations in Washington, August 20, Democratic Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin of California commented on the fact that peaceful demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy are forbidden although "the courts have recently ruled that protesters can come right onto the steps of the U.S. Capitol." "Perhaps the time has come," he said, "for a legal challenge of the 'sanctuary' status. . . . To see and hear some angry Americans demonstrating peacefully for a redress of grievances might have a wholesome effect on the staff there and on the messages they file back to Moscow."]



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